



An Order made by the  
Honourable House of  
*H. England*  
**COMMONS.**

*Die Sabbati, 29. Januarii. 1641.*

**I**T is ordered that the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers shall be required to take especiall Order, that the Printers doe neither print, nor reprint any thing without the name and consent of the Author: And that if any Printer shall notwithstanding print or reprint any thing without the consent and name of the Author, that he shall then be proceeded against, as both Printer and Author thereof, and their names to be certified to this House.

*H. Elsinge Cler. Parl. do. Com.*





# THE LIFE AND DEATH OF D MARTIN LVTHER

The Passages whereof haue bin taken out  
of his owne and other Godly and most  
Learned, mens writings, who liued in his time.



1. Thess: 5: 12: 13: Wea beseech you, bretheren, to know them,  
Who labour among you: etc: and to esteeme them very  
highly for their worke sake, and be at peace  
among your selues: /

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THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

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To  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
S<sup>r</sup>. THOMAS ROE  
Knight; Chancellour of the most Noble  
Order of the Garter, and one of his Maje-  
sties most Honourable Privy  
Councell.

**T**O whom rather should I ad-  
dresse this present discourse,  
then to *your Honourable selfe,*  
who by your *Embassie extra-*  
*ordinary for his Majestie of England into*  
*Germany* well observed the countrey and  
the present estate thereof, where many pas-  
sages here mentioned were acted. And  
much the rather doe I humbly present it  
to your *Honourable Patronage*, because, up-  
on that happie occasion, it pleased our  
gracious God to put then into your mind

a Ann. Dom.  
1618, and once  
since that time

## The Epistle

b Nehem. i. &  
2.

*c Segnum irri-  
tant animos de-  
missa per aures,  
quam que sunt  
oculis subiecta  
fidelibus, Hor.*

d As the good  
Samaritan not  
only pitied,  
but took care  
of the wound-  
ed man.

and to nourish therein ever since, a serious consideration of the deplorable distractions of the *Christian Church*; as he did into good <sup>b</sup> *Nehemiahs* minde, of the lamentable estate of *Ierusalem* in his time. Your compassionate and tender affection was, and is still much moved to <sup>c</sup> observe the living stones of the *New Ierusalem* lying in the dust, or drencht in their own blood, some of her Priests and their flocks clad in Sackcloth, others with their people by sword and fire cast out and banished: and which is worst of all, *your Honour* well discerned how difficult a task it was to cure this fearfull maladie: because disaffection of parties & dissention of opinions, unlesse God prevented the mischief, would not admit the binding up of the wound. Nor did these miserable calamities of Gods people only vex and grieve your pious and religious soule, but also so roused and summoned up *your Honours* most serious thoughts, that with <sup>d</sup> an heartie and godlie providence, with a sincere and prudent circumspection you present-  
lie

## Dedicatory.

lie consulted with other most learned, religious & Christian lovers of *Gods Church* about the *peace* thereof, so far as possible may be attained, and so far, as it lies in the power of *Christian Princes*, of most judicious *Divines*, and of truly zealous people, guided by them both: that as much as may be, we may *all be<sup>e</sup> of one minde and accord, and think, and speak one and the same thing*, as the sacred Scripture often and straightly giveth us in charge. For this end Mr. *Iohn Dury* a *Divine* of singular pietie & learning, truly studious of the Churches peace, and incomparably sedulous to advance the same, and first interested in the work by your Honourable means and encouragement, hath so much prevailed with many illustrious<sup>e</sup> *Princes & States*, and the most eminent learned men in *Germany*, and the parts adjoyning, that the work is very wel promoted, and an heartie inclination wrought towards a good correspondencie for *Ecclesiasticall peace*. God grant your *Honour* life and health, that to your great comfort, and all true Christians

e Christians should be peaceable one with another: the devill and the world raise stirs too many to molest the Church.

f This by severall instruments signed by them will plainly appear.

## The Epistle

joy, you may shortly see the work come to more maturitie and perfection.

Amidst your *Honours* grave and weightie intendments for this and other occasions of much concernement, may you please to reflect on this discourse. I conceive that there be many passages therein very considerable for these and after times: and that they will make much for the exciting of our *thankfulnessse to God*: when we behold from what beginnings, in an 100 and few moe yeares, *Gods truth* hath risen, and *Papisticall* and *Anabaptisticall* errorr saln. It is remarkable that the points by *D. Luther* mainly opposed were *Indulgences*, the *Popes boundlesse power*, merit of *workes*, *Purgatory*, *Communion* but in one kinde: all <sup>3</sup> chiefe points and palpably and undeniably grosse. And on the other side, that he stood up against the *Anabaptists rebaptization of themselves*, their not baptizing infants (as not commanded by Christ;) their having all things in common (as had the *Primitive Christians*, *Acts* 2. 44.) and against the *Antinomians hereses* concern-

g When wal-  
led Cities and  
Castles are ta-  
ken, Villages  
must yeeld.  
1/for.



## Dedictory.

concerning the law, and other like erroneous fancies. It is also observable that *Dr. Luther* striking at the *Popes* unlawfull power, never sought to exalt himselfe to honour or <sup>h</sup> riches. For though, as he saith, he himselfe with other learned men executed *Episcopall Authority* in visiting the Churches of *Saxony*, & reforming things amisse: yet he knowing his talent fittest for the *Chaire of Wittenberg*, never would rise higher; but wrote a book concerning *Christian Episcopacy*, and installed *Nicolas Amstdorf* Bishop of *Neoburg*, and *George Anhaltinus* Bishop of *Mersburg*.

And in regard that *Luther* studied and read, as *Professor*, *Philosophie* of divers kinds, was well versed in the *Fathers*, and in *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Occam* & other Schoolmen, and attained to the *Greek* and *Hebrew* tongues: he was thereby <sup>i</sup> enabled *rightly*, and *soundly*, and *gravely*, and not <sup>k</sup> ignorantly, rashly, or humorously to judge of these studies, and of their use in *Theologie*.

It was also very commendable in him, that he disliked railing discourse without

h He left his wife and three children in want and distress too manifest a signe thereof.

i Ελας δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀντιπαρθεσία, ἡ ἀντιπαρθεσία, ἡ ἀντιπαρθεσία. Arist. k Some who know nothing dote about questions and strife of words, &c. 1 Tim. 6. 4.



## The Epistle

solid and concluding arguments, slighted foolish and groundlesse calumnies, reproved young students forward and rash attempts without authority for the promoting of his cause, blamed the headie and disorderly tumults raised by the Boores and vulgar sort, confessed ingenuously his doubting of some points, his ignorance in others, and craved pardon, if having beene lately a Popish Monk, he should in any point erre from the truth. Seeing this was *D. Luthers* prudent and religious course, I shall never marvell at his *\* Heroicall Spirit*, and *impregnable confidence* of Gods assistance, and of the successe of his attempts: and on very good ground *famous and worthy Princes* countenanced and assisted him, as a man, by his then opposites, convicted of no error, doing much good service in the University, offering his cause to any just triall, appealing from the Pope to the Generall Counsell, and in his whole course manifesting <sup>1</sup> a true correspondence of his life with his doctrine. Much more I might here adde, but will

\* The cause required it. And God sweetly moderated *Luthers* vehemency with *P. Melanctons* mild and calm temper.

*l Lutheri vitam apud nos, memo- non probat. Eras. Esij. lib. 5.*

not

## Dedicatory.

not longer detain your *Honour* from the discourse it selfe. I humbly beseech our gracious God, who inabled D. *Luther* to be an excellent instrument for the reformation of the *Christian Church*, for beating downe of error, and setting up of Gods Truth, that he would implant in us all, quiet, temperate, and Christian affections, <sup>m</sup>and love of Christs Name, & still more and more perfect the setting of Truth, and building up of his Church, untill we all become living stones in the *spiritual Temple* fitted for our God. The same God of peace crowne your *Honourable selfe*, and all sincere promoters of Christian peace, with peace externall and internall here, and with eternall blisse hereafter. So prayeth he, who is

*Your Honours ever to  
be commanded*

Thomas Hayne.

*m Luther* endured not to have any one called a Lutheran. And *Era-*  
*mus* saith, *Pro-*  
*pus odi ista diffi-*  
*diorum nomina:*  
*Christi sumus*  
*omnes. lib. Ep. 2.*

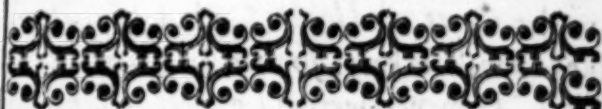
Reverend

Dear Sir,  
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the matter of the  
and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.  
I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. H. [Signature]



Very respectfully,  
J. H. [Signature]

Thomas [Signature]



## Christian Reader:

**D**AVID a man after Gods owne heart, as in other respects so especially in not forgetting any of Gods benefits, but frequently and sweetly descanting on them in his sacred songs of praise, among many other blessings, mentions Gods gracious leading his people out of Egypt, & teaching them by the ministry of Moses and Aaron. The like thankfulness to God should we shew in our <sup>a</sup> hymns of glorie to God, as for infinite other favours in these later times, so especially for our comming out of the spirituall Egypt, by the Ministry of Dr. Mart. Luther. The goodnesse of God to the Israelites and Us is much alike in both these our deliverances. For when Egypts tyrannie was growne to extremity, and Romes heresies at full maturity, God seasonably put to

b

his

a These are a  
chiefe and ex-  
cellent work  
of the New  
Testament  
Church.  
Rev. 4.  
Rev. 7. 11, 12.  
Rev. 15. 3.

## The Epistle

his hand, and by Moses, then bred up in Pharaohs Court, and by D. Luther, lately trained up in Monckery, shewed a like mercy to us both. However men did project to bend the excellent endowments of these worthy men to their owne purposes, God turned them to better use, and seasoning them with his grace, fitted them for the confusion of the Old & New Egypts. God will be <sup>b</sup> plainly knowne to have matters of great importance at his owne disposing. He of his great goodnesse directs to the right object his servants ardent zeale to do good: as in judgement he lets the malicious and envious zeale of both Egypts persist in an evill course to their overthrow. Hence it was, that as God took off S. Paul from his blinde and unseasonable zeale for Moses Law in the Pharisaicall way, and bent it to the advancing of the Gospell: So he quelled Luthers raging fury and intent <sup>c</sup> to vex and kill the opposers of the Pope: & put a zealous spirit into him for the maintenance of sacred Truth, and the downfall of Popish superstition. And indeed rightly did Erasmus judge, that <sup>d</sup> those corrupt times called for a sharpe, and launcing

b When the event is seene, then wee can observe, how Godshand was in the worke.

c As S. Paul did to vex and kill Christians, Act. 9. 1. & 32. 19.

d Epist. B. 14. pag. 453.

## to the Reader.

launcing and searing Chirurgion, to cure their long festered maladies. For the worship of God and the truth of Religion was then (as amongst the Israelites in Elias time) much depraved and defaced, and required a magnanimous and undaunted spirit, like to that in Elias, to reforme matters extreamly out of frame. Erasmus saw full well, how difficult a taske D. Luther underwent, and for his owne part and undertaking was assured, that if the knowledge of good Arts, of polite Learning, of the Originall tongues, of the Sacred Scripture florisht, that the dark fogs of Popery could not long continue undispeid. And therefore he complied with all<sup>e</sup> Princes, and <sup>3</sup> men studious of good letters whatsoever, to make a knowing world: and would in no wise, though earnestly set upon both by loving intreaties and kinde usage, as also by bitter calumnies, and harsh railings of the Pontificians, doe any thing of speciall moment against Luther. He was confident, that, if Luther, being violently opposed and maliced, should faile, yet the Truth of Christ, by the light of all good literature and Gods blessing,

e He foresaw, that by these  
*Novum seculum  
 breui exoriturum. lib. Epist. 3.*  
 f Even with  
 George Duke  
 of Sax. whom  
 Luther found  
 most opposite  
 to the Gospell.  
*Eras. epist. B. 12*  
*pag. 430.*  
 g Hee praised  
 some for learning, that they  
 might strive to  
 be praise-worthy for it. *Epist.*  
*pag. 351.*



## The Epistle

would, maugre all the Papists malice, get the upper hand, and spread it selfe.

h Ier. i. 18.

But God was abundantly gracious to D. Luther, and made him, as Jeremy, <sup>h</sup>a defended citie, an iron pillar, and a wall of brasse, against which his Antagonists could in no wise prevaile. Had a spirit of pride or convention, or any by-respect set Luther on work against the Pope, or had he stood upon questions litigious, or of an indifferent nature, he could never have begun with that courage, gone forward with that confidence, come off with that honour, which he did. The blessing of God and a good conscience bore him out, to take such incredible paines in reading, preaching, translating, commenting, disputing, writing, advising the Politicall State, directing the Ecclesiasticall, restraining the Papists fury from open war, counselling some Protestants from too hasty proceedings, preventing tumultuous designs, avoiding secret traps set for him, and in daily praying to God for the prosperity of the Gospell.

All true Christians will heartily blesse God for him, and his resolute and happy beginning



## to the Reader.

ginning of Reformation: if Papists who notoriously defamed and slandered him in his life time, persist still to calumniate him after his death, \* God in the last day will be judge betweene them. Luther was (and who is not?) subject to such weaknesses, as humanity makes incident to the best men. He knew his slips, he acknowledged them, he craved pardon for them. Yea, he considering, that he was a man, and might erre, intrusted his learned and faithfull friend Melancthon to revise and moderate some of his Tenents after his decease.

In brieve Luthers faith was admirably strong in his God, his labours and studies of singular benefit to Gods Church, his books and writings very many and learned, his life most pious, and therefore his death full of comfort and blessed.

Accept (good Reader) this Treatise now presented unto you in an English dresse, out of the learned and laborious work of Melchior Adamus: and expect the Lives of other most godly and reverend Fathers in Gods Church, and worthy Champions, against  
the

\* Men may judge something now by the good effect of his labours.

i These two by conjoyning their studies settled truth: whereas in the Council of Trent, though some Divines saw the Truth yet the major part confirmed error.

## The Epistle, &c.

*the enemies of Gods truth, both English and  
forraine. Some whereof were never extant  
before, others, but sparingly in English set  
forth; all of them worthy of everlasting me-  
mory for their promoting of Gods glory, and  
their love to Christian Truth. These will  
shortly appeare from the Pens of sundry reve-  
rend, religious, and faithfull Divines amongst  
us. God make all these labours usefull to  
Gods people, and us all thankfull for his Di-  
vine and gracious goodnesse to these last and  
worst times.*

Yours in all Christian offices

*Tho. Hayne.*

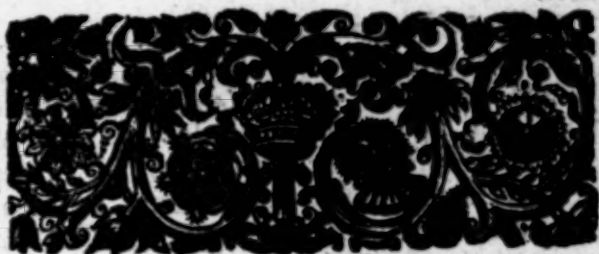
To the pretious Memory of  
Dr. Mart. Luther.

**W**elfare those gentle Quills (whose ere they be)  
Whose meritorious labours shall set free  
The Urne imprisoned Dust of that renown'd  
Thrice famous Luther: Let his head be crown'd  
With sacred Immortality, and rais'd  
Much rather to be wondred at then prais'd.  
Let Babes unborne, like fruttfull plants bring forth  
To asier dayes new Monuments of his worth,  
And time-outlasting Name: that Babels Whore  
And all her bald-pate panders may ev' nore  
For very anguish, and then gnaw and bite  
Their tongues for malice, and their nailes for spite,  
Whilst men made perfect in his well knowne story  
May all turne Patrons, and protect his Glory.

Francis Quarles.

When blackest clouds of Romish error's base,  
Had quite ore-spread Truths amiable face,  
And Antichrists ore-topping tyrannie  
Had chain'd all Europe to Idolatry;  
Then, suddenly and strangely God did raise  
(To Romes deepe admiration and amaze)  
Renowned Martin Luther, dauntlesly  
To vindicate his Truth, and Rome desfe.  
He, maugre all their spight and fury fell,  
Did Papall fogs of Error cleane expell;  
Clearing the Sun of Truth to such pure light  
As, ever since, hath shone abroad most bright.  
Of Hercules his Club, what talk we, then?  
Since Rome is ruin'd with great Luthers Pen.

I. Vicars.



THE  
LIFE AND DEATH  
of Dr. *Martin Luther*.

**T**HE Family of the *Luthers* was ancient, and spread into divers parts of the Territories of the *Earle of Mansfield*. It consisted of the middle degree of Men. The Parents of *Martin Luther* first lived in *Ileiben* a town in that Earldome: thence they went to dwell in *Mansfield*, the place, of which the Earldome took its name. There *John Luther* father of *Martin* possessed Mettle Mines, bore office, and for his integritie was in good esteem among the best Citizens. *Margaret Lindeman* was the wife of *John Luther*, and Mother of *Martin*; she was a woman commendable for all vertues becomming a worthy Matron, especially for her modesty, feare of God, and calling on his

B

name:

*Luthers* parentage.

Thence *M. Luther* went to *Isenack, La. Epist. Tom. 1. pag. 227.*

The birth of  
Luther, An.  
1483.

Aemilius put  
him to  
Schoole.

An. Dom.  
1496.  
John Reineck  
his School-  
fellow at  
Magdeburg.

An. 1498. he  
went to He-  
nah.

name: So that she was a pattern of vertue to many others.

*Martin Luther* was born of *Isleben*, An. Dom. 1483. Novemb. 10. at 9. a clock at night on *S<sup>t</sup>. Martins* day: and was thence call'd *Martin*. His parents brought him up in the knowledge and feare of God, according to the capacitie of his tender yeeres, and taught him to read at home, and accustomed him to vertuous demeanour. The father of *George Aemilius* (as *Luther* often hath related) first put him to Schoole, where though the trueth was much darkned by clouds of Popery, yet God preserved still the heads of *Catechisme*, the *Elements* of the *Cisioian Grammar*, some *Psalmes* and formes of prayer.

At fourteene yeeres of age, he with *John Reineck*, who proved a man of especiall vertue and authoritie in those parts, were sent to *Magdeburg*. Whence a league of intire friendship ever continued between these two; either because of a Sympathy and agreement of their natures, or their education together in their first studies. At *Magdeburg* he, as many others born of honest parents, lived a poore Scholler for the space of one yeere. Thus even the greatest matters have small beginnings, and scarce any thing is highly exalted, but from a lowly degree.

Thence by his parents he was removed to *Isenach*, where was a Schoole of great fame: here was a Schoolemaster, who (as *Luther* by experience found, and would professe) taught *Grammar* more dextrously and truly. One reason also of his being sent



## The Life of Dr. Martin Luther.

3

sent thither was, because his Mother was born there of a worthy and ancient family. There he perfected his Grammar learning, and being of a very quick wit, and by nature fitted for eloquence, he soone surpassed his School-fellows in copiousnesse of speech and matter, and excelled in expression of his minde both in prose and verse.

How he perfected his Grammar learning.

Upon this his tasting the sweetnesse of learning, he was inflamed with an earnest desire to goe to some *Vniuersitie*, the well-spring of all good literature, and surely had he met with good and commendable Tutors, he by his piercing wit had attained all good Arts: and perhaps he might by the milder studies of true Philosophy, and diligence in well framing his style somewhat have tempered the vehemencie of his nature.

Luthers love to learning.

He went to *Erford An. 1501*. Where he fell upon the crabbed and thorny *Logick* of that age: which he soone attained, as one who by the sagacitie of his wit, was better able to dive into the causes and other places of Arguments then others.

He studied at Erford, An. 1501.

Here, out of a desire of better learning, he read over *Cicero*, *Liby*, *Virgil*, and other monuments of ancient Latine Authors. These he perused, not as a child, to glean Phrases from them: but to discern what therein was usefull towards the right conforming of mans life. And to that end seriously observed the counsels and grave sentences in those writers: and having a faithfull and sure memory, what ever he read or heard, he had it still in readinesse for present use. Hereby he so excelled in his oldonnes

His course in his reading.



\* His being  
M. of Arts,  
*An. 1503.* or  
as others,  
1505.

† His study of  
the Law.

\* He entred  
the Monast-  
ry, *An. 1504.*  
† He taketh  
his leave of  
his fellow  
Students,  
*Tom. 1. epist.*

youth, that the whole Univerſitie admired his wit.

When at *Erphord* he was graced <sup>a</sup> with the degree of *Maſter of Arts* at twentie yeeres of his age, he read, as Profeſſour, *Ariſtoteles Phyſicks, Ethicks* and other parts of *Philophy*. Afterward his kindred ſeeing it fit that ſo worthy indowments of wit and eloquence ſhould be cheriſhed for the publique good, by their adviſe he betooke <sup>b</sup> himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Law*. But not long after when he was 21. yeeres old, of a ſudden beſides the purpoſe of his parents and kindred (upon an affright from his faithfull mates violent death) he betook himſelf to the *Auguſtine Monks* <sup>c</sup> Colledge in *Erphord*. But before he entred the Monastery, he entertained his fellow <sup>d</sup> ſtudents with a cheerfull banquet: and thereupon ſent them letters valedictory, and ſending to his parents the Ring and gown of his degree of Maſter of Arts, unfolded to them the reaſon of the change of his courſe of life. It much grieved his parents that ſo excellent parts ſhould be ſpent in a life little differing from death. But for a moneths ſpace no man could be admitted to ſpeake with him.

Nor was it povertie, but the love of a pious life, which bent his minde to the Monarchical life. In which though he ſpent his time in the uſual ſchoole learning, and read the Writers upon the Sentences, and in publique diſputations clearly opened their inextricable labyrinth to the admiration of many: yet becauſe in this kinde of life he ſought not to ennoble

ennoble his fame, but to further his study of a pious life; he looked into those studies but upon the by; and with much ease attained their Scholastical methods.

When on a time in the Library of the Colledge, running over the books thereof in order, he met with a copie of the *Latine Bible*, which he never saw before; There with admiration he observed that there were moe *Evangelical* and *Apostolical* texts then what were read to the people in Churches. In the *old Testament* with great attention he read the story of *Samuel* and *Anna* his mother: and began to wish, that he was the owner of the like book; which not long after he obtained. Hereupon he spent his time on the Propheticall and Apostolicall writings, the fountaines of all heavenly doctrine, seeking thence to enforme his minde with Gods will, and to nourish in himself the feare of God, and true faith in Christ from true and undoubted grounds. Some sicknesse and feare whet him on to attempt these studies more earnestly.

It is said, that in this Colledge Luther in his younger yeers fell into a most violent disease, in so much that there was no hope of life: and that an ancient Priest came to him, and with these words comforted him. *Sir, Be of good courage, for your disease is not mortall: God will raise you up to be a man who shall afford comfort to many others.* At the first, the Monks handled him somewhat harshly, whilst he performed the office of the *Custos*, and was compelled to cleanse the uncleane places: as also to walk up and

Luther meets  
with a Latine  
Bible.

Luther fell in-  
to a grievous  
sicknesse, *an.*  
1501.  
A Priest  
comforted  
him.  
The Monks  
used him  
hardly.

The Article  
of remission  
of finnes ex-  
plained.

Bernard. Ser-  
mon on the  
Annunt.

and down the Citie with a bagge or wallet. But up-  
on the request of the Univerſitie, of which he had  
been a member, he was eased of that burden.

He was often cheered up by conference with the  
ancient Priest, to whom he revealed his seares and  
scruples of minde, and heard him discourſing of  
faith at large, and going on; the Creed to the Arti-  
cle. *I beleeve the Remission of sins.* Which he thus  
explained. Namely, that a man must not onely in  
generall beleeve that finnes are remitted to some  
men, as to *David*, and to *Ester*, for this the devils  
beleeve: but that God commands, that we should  
each man in particular beleeve, that our finnes be  
forgiven us in Christ Jesus. This exposition, said he,  
is confirmed by S<sup>t</sup>. *Bernard*: and shewed him the  
place in his Sermon upon the Annuntiation: where  
these words are to be found. *But adde this, and be-  
leeve this also, that thy sins are forgiven thee for Christs  
sake. This is the Testimony in thy heart, which the spirit  
of God giveth, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For  
the Apostle thus determines of the matter: That a man  
is freely justified by faith.* Luther said, that he was  
not onely confirmed in the truth; but also put in  
minde of Saint Paul ever in these words, asserting  
this truth: *We are justified by faith.* Concerning  
this point, after that he had read the expositions of  
divers men, he further said, that from the spee-  
ches of Paul, he observed to accrew unto himself  
much comfort, and great light to discern the  
vanitie of other interpretations, which then were  
used.

Then

# The Life of Dr. Martin Luther.

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Then he began to read *S<sup>t</sup> Augustines workes*: where both in his Comment on the *Psalmes*, and in the booke, *Of the Spirit and letter*, he found many evident places, which confirmed this doctrine concerning faith, and the comfort, which was before kindled in his breast. Yet did he not utterly cast off the reading of *Gabriel* and *Camaracensis*, writers on the Sentences, but was able to recite them by heart in a manner. He spent much time in often reading *Occam*, and esteemed him for acutenesse of wit before *Thomas Aquinas* and *Scotus*: also he studiously perused *Gerson*. But chiefly he read often *Austins workes*, and kept them well in memory. This earnest prosecution of his studies he began at *Eppord*: and spent there five yeares in the Colledge.

In the yeare 1507. he put on the priests hood. The first Masse which he celebrated, was May 2. *Domini Cantate*. Then was he 24. yeares old. In this course he continued 15. yeares, to the yeare of our Lord 1527. At that time *Io. Staupicius*, who endeavored to promote the university of *Wittenberg* lately begun, desired that the study of Theologie should there flourish, and well knew the wit and learning of *Luther*: and removed him to *Wittenberg*, An. 1508. when he was 26. yeares old. Here in regard of his daily exercises in the schooles and his sermons the eminency of his good parts did more and more shew themselves. And among other learned men, who attentively heard him *Martinus Mellusbad*, commonly cal'd *Lux mundi*, the light of the world, often said of *Luther*: that  
there

He read *S<sup>t</sup> Augustine*.

And writers on the sentences.

He began to say Masse An. 1507. B. 1. Epist. 1.

He was removed to *Wittenberg* An. 1508.

*Mellusbad* Judgement of *Luther*.

He was professor of Philosophy at Wittenberg and inveyes against *Arist.* Tom. 1. Epist. 10. He went to Rome An. 1510. What manner of Masses at Rome. Tom. 6. Item Germ. pag. 88.

He was made Doctor of Divinitie, A. 1512.

there was in him so noble a straine of wit, that he did verily presage, that he would change the vulgar course of studies, which at that time was usuall in schooles, and prevailed.

At Wittenberg Luther first explained *Aristotles Logick and Physickes*: yet intermitted not his study of *Divinitie*. Three yeares after, that is An. 1510. he was sent into Italy and to Rome in the behalfe of his Covent, for the deciding of some controversy among the Monkes. There he saw the Pope, and the Popes palace, and the manners of the Roman Clergie. Concerning which he sayth: *I was not long at Rome: There I sayd, and heard others say Masse: but in that manner, that so often as I call them to minde, I detest them. For at the Table I heard among other matters some Curtisians laugh and boast, and some concerning the bread and wine on the Altar to say: Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remaine; Wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remaine.* He further addeth, that the priests celebrated the Masses so hastily and perfunctorily, that he left of saying Masse, before he betooke himselfe to the Gospell. And cried out, *Away with it, away with it.* In talke with his familiar friends he would often rejoyce at this his journey to Rome, and say; that he would not for 1000. *florens* have been without it. After his returne from Rome, *Staupicius* so advising, he was made *Doctor in Divinity*, after the manner of the schooles, and at the Charge of Duke *Frederike* Elector of Saxony. For the Prince heard him preach, and admired the soundnesse of his invention, the strength of his arguments,



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guments, and the excellence of the things, which he delivered; Now was *Luther* 30. yeares old, and had attained a maturity of Judgement. *Luther* himselfe used to professe, that he would have refused this honour, and that *Staupicius* would have him permit himselfe to be graced with this degree, saying pleasantly: *That there were many businesses in Gods Church, wherein he would use Luthers helpe.* This speech then spoken in a complementall way, at length proved true by the event. *Thus many presages goe before great changes.* Soone after he began (as the place required) to explaine the *Epistle to the Romans* and some *Psalmes*: which he so cleared, that after a long and darke night, there seemed a new day to arise in the judgement of all pious and prudent men. Here he shewed the difference of the *Law* and *Gospell*, and refuted an error then most frequent both in the schooles and sermons: namely that men by their workes can deserve remission of their sinnes: and that men are just before God by observing the discipline commanded: as the *Pharisees* taught. *Luther* therefore recal'd mens mindes to the Father of God, & (as *Iohn Baptist*) shewed them the *Lamb of God*, who taketh away the sinnes of the world. And taught them, that for *Christs* sake their sinnes are forgiven, and that this benefit is received by faith. He cleared also other poyntes of *Ecclesiasticall* truth. This beginning made him of great authority, and that much the more, because his demeanour was suitable to his doctrine; so that his speech seemed to come from his heart, not from his lippes onely.

*Staupicius* would have him Doctour and why.

*Luther* expoundeth the *Epistle* to the *Romans*.

He recal'd men to *Christ*

His manners and doctrine agreed.

C

For

The Prophets and Apostles cleared.

Erasmus writings.

Luther studied Greek & Hebrew.

An. 1516. Jo. Tezelus sold Indulgences.

\* For the saying is as true, as old, *Kupōratōr ēgen wistōr* id est, *A mans pious carriage makes his speech persuasive.* Hence it was, that men easily assented to him, when afterward he changed some of their rites. As yet, he attempted not to doe it, but was a rigid observer of good order, and added something more strict then usuall. With the sweetnesse of this doctrine all godly minded men were inamoured, and much it affected the learned, that *Christ, the Prophets and Apostles* were brought out of darknes & prison, & that the difference of the Law and the Gospell, of Gods Word & Philosophy, (of which they read nothing in *Thomas, Scotus* and their fellowes) now \* was manifested. At this time also young students were invited to a mote exact study of the Latine & Greek tongue, whereupon many worthy and ingenious men were much affected with the sweetnesse of polite learning, and abhorred the barbarous and sophistical style of the Monkes. And now also *Luther* betook himselfe to the study of the *Greeke and Hebrew tongues*, that upon his knowledge of the phrase and proprietie of the originall, he might more exactly judge of doctrines grounded thereupon.

*Luther* being thus busied, into *Misnia* and *Saxony*, *John Tezelus* a *Dominican* frier brought indulgences to be sold. This *Tezelus* was adjudged to death by *Maximilian* the Emperour, and commanded to be throwne into the river *Odenpote*, but was pardoned at the request of *Frederike* Duke of *Saxony*, who as it befell was in those coastes at his condemnation. This *Tezelus* avcrred (as other matters, so especially)



especially) that he had so large a commission from the Pope, that though a man should have deflowered the Blessed Virgin, for money he could pardon the sinne. And further he did not onely give pardons for sins past, but for sins to come. And not long after an Edict was set forth with *Albertus* the Archbishops arms, which enjoyned the officers in especiall manner to commend the validitie of the indulgences. The Pardoners also at certain rates gave license on dayes prohibited to eat milke, cheefe, egges, flesh.

*Luthers* Godly zeale being inflamed with these proceedings, set forth certaine propositions concerning Indulgences. These he publickly affixed at the Church next to the Castle of *Wittenberg*, on All Saints Eve, An. 1517.

Hereupon *Tecelinus* persisting in his old course, and hoping thereby the more to oblige the Pope to himself, calleth a Senate of Monks and Divines of his own stamp: and sets them on work to write something against *Luther*. In the meane time he himself might not be silent: Nor would he onely preach against *Luther*, but with open mouth cryeth and thunders, that *Luther* was deservedly to be burnt as an Heretick: and withall publickly cast *Luthers* propositions and his Sermon concerning Indulgences into the fire.

These violent courses of *Tecelinus* and his complices, necessarily put *Luther* upon a more copious declaration and defence of the Truth. Thus began these Controversies, in which *Luther* ayd not

*Luthers* propositions about Indulgences.

The day of Indulgences confusion, Tom. 2. epist. pag. 345. *Tecelinus* his opposing *Luther*.

*Luthers* temper in this cause.

not at, nor so much as thought of the change, which followed: nor indeed did altogether disallow of the Indulgences, but desired a moderation in their use. Yes, it appeared that *Luther* would have been quiet, so that his adversaries had been enjoined silence. But when he saw, that whatsoever the Popes crafty mony-gatherers insinuated to *Albertus Archbishop of Mentz*, was defended and beleaved by the common sort, and yet knew not that *Tecelius* was hired by *Albertus* to make those Sermons for the purchasing of his Bishops roab: He the day before the Calends of *Novemb. An. 1517.* complained to the Archbishop by writing concerning their impious clamours, and intreated that he by the authority of his place would call in their libels, and prescribe to the Preachers some other forme of preaching their pardons: so *Luther* himself saith. At the same time *Luther* sent him Propositions concerning Repentance and Indulgences: which he then first set forth. These are extant *Tom. 1. of Luthers works.* The Archbishop returned no answer to *Luthers* epistle. *Tecelius* opposed contrary Positions made by *Conrade Wimpin* and others, at *Frankfort on Viadrue*; and compared the Pope with *Peter*, and the crosse erected by the Pope with Christs crosse: At *Hal* in Saxony the Students of *Wittenberg* publike-ly burnt in the market place *Tecelius* his *Theses*: of this *Luther* thus writeth to *Ioh. Longus*. That you may understand aforehand, what was done about the burning of *Tecelius* Propositions, lest fame (as often it comes to passe) should misreport the matter.

*Tom. 1. epist. p. 37.6.*

*Luther* writes to the Archbishop, who answered him not.

*Tecelius* his *Theses* burnt by the Students of *Wittenb.*

*Tom. 1. epist. p. 54.*

The Students being extreemly weary of the old dunstical course of studies, and most desirous of the sacred Bible, and it may be out of their love to me, when they knew that one was sent by Tetzel Hal, and was come with his Positions, went presently unto him, and terrified him, asking him how he durst bring such stuffe thither. Some bought of him, some took the rest from him, and (giving intimation that whosoever would see Tecelius Positions burnt, should come to the market place at two a clock) burnt 800 of them. All this was unknown to the Prince, the Senate and Rector, and all of us. This great injury done the man by our Students displeaseth my self and the rest. And though I am blamelesse, yet I feare that the whole proceeding will be laid to my charge. A great bruise was raised hereupon, but especially amongst them, with a just indignation. What will be the issue hereof, I cannot say: sure it is, that my danger will be much the more.

Luthers excuse.

When Luther perceived that the Positions were very well liked of, and entertained as sound and orthodox; which he at first propounded to be discussed by disputation, till the Church defined, what was to be thought concerning Indulgences; he wrote to Ierom Bishop of Brandenburg, under whose Jurisdiction he was, and submitted what he had written to the Bishops judgement; and intreated him that he would dash out with his pen, or consume with the fire, what he thought unsound. The Bishop answered Luther, and declared that his desire was, that the setting forth of his arguments about those matters should a little while be deferred: and that he wished that

Tom. 1. 99.  
Lat.

Luther writeth to the Bishop of Brandenburg.  
Tom. 1. p. 63.  
Ep. 40. p.

He wrote to  
Staupicius.

He wrote to  
the Pope. T.  
1. Epist.

Eckius oppo-  
seth Luther.  
Priorius wri-  
teth against  
Luther. Tom.  
1. 11<sup>th</sup> p.  
107.  
Luthers answ.

the common talk about Indulgences had never been. Luther answered: I am content so to do: and had rather obey, then work miracles, if I could well do them. He wrote also to Ioh. Staupicius the Vicar of the Augustinian partie: and giveth him an account of his proceedings, and sendeth to him the Answers of the disputations concerning the validitie of Indulgences to be imparted to Pope Leo the tenth. In these he shewed the Pope how inconsiderately and sordidly the disposers of his Indulgences had abused his authoritie. He also annexed thereunto the Protestation, which is extant in the 1. Tom. of his works.

Now also Iohn Eckius opposed Luthers conclusions, with Obiliscs or marks of disgrace. To them Luther opposed his Asteriscs or notes of approbation. After this Silvester Priorius a Dominican, and M<sup>r</sup> of (as they call it) the sacred Palace, very confidently enters into the quarrell with a Dialogue and preface to Leo the Pope. In this writing Priorius set downe certaine Theses for the ground of his judgement. Luther answered him and opposed the sacred scripture to the authority of Thomas Aquinas, whom Priorius cited. Upon this a reply was made against Luther: in it Priorius sayd that he liked it well, that Luther did submit himselfe to the pleasure of the Pope; was not ambitious, and did defend Thomas, as the Angelical Doctor. Luther answered this with an Epistle onely to the Reader: & together with other matters, sayth: If the Pope and Cardinals be of the same opinion, if as Rome the same doctrine be taught, there is

no doubt, but that Rome is the very seat of Antichrist : and that Greece, and Bohemia, and all others are happie, that they made a departure from the Pope : and that new commendations of the Pope were daily invented to prevent the calling of a Lawfull Councel.

Luthers conclusion concerning Rome.

Afterward Io. Hogostratus a Dominican writeth bitterly against Luther & exciteth the Pope to use the rounder course of fire and faggot. Luther answered him in brieft, and told him of his cruell bent : and wittily taxed the ignorance of the man : and admonisheth him not to proceed to seeke laurelamm in mussaceo, the laurel garland in so mean a perfection.

Hogostratus controversie with Luther.

In the yeere 1518. Luther, though most men dissuaded him, yet to shew his observance of authority, went (for the most part on foot) to the colledge of Hidelsberg. At Herbispolis the Bishop entertained him courteously. So also did Wolfgang the Count Palatine at Hidelsberg. In the Colledge of the Augustinians now cal'd the Colledge of Sapience, he disputed about Justification by faith. Bucer was there present, and by his quicknesse in writing tooke what Luther spake, and imparted all to Beat. Rhenuus, who gave Luther much deserved commendations. Of this disputation Luther thus speaketh. *The Doctors admitted my disputing with them willingly, and argued the matter with me with much modesty, but in that very regard, I hold them worth much commendations. For though they thought that Divinity strong, yet they all argued seriously and strongly against it, except one alone, who was the fifth of them a Junior Doctor : He made all the Auditory to laugh by saying, if the* Rustick

Luther goeth to Hidelsberg 1518.

\* 6 Cal. of May. See the Theses. Tom. 1. pag. 141. Bucer present.

Luthers speech of that disputation.



Rustick you should heare this, they would stone and kill us.

Upon Luthers returne he wrote an Epistle to \* Iudocus a Divine and Philosopher of Isenac, once his Tutour. Where he hath this speech. *All the Doctours of Wittenberge (in the doctrine concerning grace and good workes) are of my Iudgement, yea the whole Vniversity except one licentiat Doctour Sebastian: even the Prince himselfe and our Ordinary Bishop, and many of the Chieftaines, and all the ingenious Citizens with joynt consent affirme, that before they neither knew, nor heard of the Gospel, nor of Christ.*

After that he put forth in print the resolutions and declarations of his propositions about Indulgences, w<sup>ch</sup> he dedicated to Pope Leo the 3. as was before said. The causes of his printing them were, as he said: to mitigate his adversaries, to satisfie some mens request, and not to suffer some to conceive, that the whole businesse was determined. For he confessed that of many things he yet doubted, of some things he was ignorant, and did pertinaciously affirme nothing; but did humbly submit all to the Popes determination. Hereupon Maximilian the Emperour being solicitous of the event of disputations of this nature, moved the Pope to interpose his own authoritie. The Pope by Tho. Cajetan Cardinal cited Luther to Rome. This he also desired of Frederick Elector of Saxony. Luther having notice hereof, mainly indeavoured, that the cause might be handled in Germany under competent Judges: and at length he prevailed, by the mediation of Wittenberg \* Vniversity to the Pope, and by Charles Multitum

\* Tom. 1. epist.  
pag. 62.

Luthers judgement approved.

The declaration of Luthers Propositions.  
Tom. 1. Lat.  
An. 1518.

Luther cited to Rome, Tom. 1.  
Lat. Wilt. pag.  
203.

\* Tom. 1. pag.  
106.



Multitudo a German the Popes Chamberlain, and the mediation of the Elector of Saxony to Cajetan then the Popes Legate, that at *Auspurg* before the Legate himself *Luther* might plead his own cause.

About the beginning of *October*, *Luther* came on foot to *Auspurg*, in his hood borrowed of *Wenceslaus Linkius*, and much wearied with the journey: and upon assurance of his safetie was admitted to the Cardinals presence. Who admonished him, first, To become a sound member of the Church, and to recant the errors, which he had divulged: secondly, to promise that he would not again teach his former doctrines: thirdly, that he would abstain from other doctrines, which would disturb the peace of the Church. Here also it was objected to him, that he denyed the Merit of Christ to be a treasure of Indulgences: and that he taught that faith was necessary for all which should come to the Sacrament. Cajetan proved his own opinion by the decree of *Clement* the sixth, and at large extolled the authoritie of the See of *Rome*, as being fallily preferred before all Scriptures and Councils. After much debating the matters, *Luther* intreated some time to deliberate thereon: and returned the next day, and in the presence of some witnesses and a Scribe, and foure of the Emperours Counsellors, professed, that he gave the Church of *Rome* all due deference; and if he had spoken any thing dissenting from the judgement of the Church, he would recant it: but could recant no error, being not yet convinced by Scripture of any, that did appaile to the judgement of the Church. Hereupon the Legate, sharply chiding

D

*Luther*,

On Saint  
Marts day.  
Tom. 1. epist. p.  
83.  
What was re-  
quired of  
him.

Cajetan de-  
fended the  
Pope.

*Luthers* an-  
swer to the  
Cardinal.

Tom. 1. epist.  
p. 96. b. &  
99. b.

Cajetan's Letter  
to the  
Duke of Saxo-  
ny.

The Duke's  
answer.

Luther, dismissed him, and dealt with *Staupicium* to bring Luther to revoke, what he had taught. But Luther not convinced as yet by Scripture, persisted in the truth. Yet at length fearing least the Cardinal should make more use of his power and greatness, then Scholarlike disputations, he appealed to Rome, and departed from *Ausburg*, Octob. 20. Because the Cardinal charged him not to come into his presence, unless he would recant. Yet Luther left behind him an epistle to the Cardinal, and affixed thereunto a formal appeale unto the Pope.

Cajetan took Luthers departure in ill part, and wrote to the Duke of Saxony, that he would either send Luther to Rome, or banish him out of his territories, and intreateth him not to give credit to Luthers defenders, and to take heed of staining the illustrious Family, whence he was descended. The Elector returned answer: That now it was not in his power to do this, because Luther was not convicted of any error; and did much good service in the University, and did offer his cause to triall and disputation. The resolution of the Duke was more confirmed by an Epistle of Erasmus, and the intercession and vote of the University of Wittenberg. Here I may not passe over a notable prooffe of Luthers Heroike courage. When Luther came to *Ausburg*, he by the counsell of such as the Prince Elector sent with him, waited three dayes for to have the Emperors Letters for his safety. In the mean time the Cardinal sent one for Luther: but he denyed to come, untill the Emperour granted what he desired. At this the messenger

was

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was offended and said: *Do you think that Prince Frederick will take up armes in your behalfe? I desire is not,* said Luther, *in any wise.* Then the Partie; *Where then will you abide?* Luther answered: *Under the cope of Heaven.* The Italian replied: *Had you the Pope and the Cardinals in your power, what would you do?* I would, said Luther, *give them all due honour and reverence.* At this the Messenger after the Italian manner biting his thumbs, went away.

Upon these dealings Luthers spirit fainted not, yet least he should cause detriment or danger to any one, or derive suspicion on his Prince, and that he might more freely deale with the Papall crue, would have gone into *France* or some other countrey. But his friends on the contrary, counselled him to *stick firmly to Saxony*: and that the Popes Legate should be certified, *that Luther was ready in any safe place appointed him to make his answer.* But Luther having settled his resolution to depart, tooke his leave of the Prince Elector, and by a letter sent to him, *Novemb. 29.* thanked his Highnesse for all friendly offices of his love. The Prince sent that letter to the Legate: and appointed Luther to abide at *Wittenberg*. Of this Luther thus wrote: *The Prince was fully minded, that I should stay: but what his minde now is, since the Royal proceedings are published, and I have appealed to the Councell, I know not.*

For he understanding by the Cardinals Letter, that Judgement should passe on him at Rome, he made a new Appeal, saying, *that he was forced of necessity to appeal from the Pope to the Councell.*

D 2

which

Luthers conference with the Cardinals messenger.

Luther was intended to goe from Saxony.

Tom. 1. epist. pag. 120.

Luther appealeth from the Pope to the Councell. An. 1518.

*Charles Multis-  
simus sent to  
bring Luther  
to Rome.*

*His speech  
concerning  
Luther.  
Pref. Tom. 1.  
Luther. Lat.  
worke at  
Wittenb.*

*which was in many respects to be preferred before the Pope.*

About the same time towards the end of the 18 yeere, the Pope sent *Charles Multisimus* a Misnian Knight, and bestowed on Prince *Frederick* a golden *Rose*, according to custome consecrated by the Pope on the *fourth Sunday in Lent*: and exhorted him to continue in the faith of his ancestours. He was earnest with *Luther* to be reconciled to the Pope: and had seventie Brieses Apostolicall (as they call them) to shew: that if the Prince would deliver him out of his custody, for which cause the Pope sent him the *Rose*, in seventie Townes the seventie Brieses should be set up, and so he should be brought safe to Rome. But he opened the closet of his heart to *Luther* himself, when he thus spake. *O Martin, I conceived you to be an old man, and sitting in some solitary place as an ancient Divine, in some private manner to have disputed your Tenents: But now I see you to be in your best age, and full of wigour. Had I 25000. armed men I could not be confident that I could bring you to Rome: for as I came hisherward, I tried how men stood affected, and found, that where one man stood for the Pope, three stood for you against him. What Multisimus did in this kinde was ridiculous, for he asked of women and maids in the Innes as he came, what they thought of the Seat of Rome. They not knowing the force of this speech, answered, What know we, whether at Rome ye sit on wooden or stone seats? He further required of Luther, that he would have a regard to the Churches peace, and promised to endeavour,*

endeavour, that the Pope should do the like: Luther freely promised most readily to doe what ever he could with a safe conscience in regard of Gods Truth: and affirmed that himself was desirous and studious of peace, and that it was not his fault that these stirres arose; for necessity had urged him to do, what he had done.

Mulitius also called unto him Tezelius the cheife original of these debates: and with sharp wordes and threatens so daunted the man, till now a clamorous, unaffrighted, bold face, terrible to all: so that ever after he languished and with heartes griefe pined away. Luther wrote a consolatory letter to him in this case: but for feare of the Popes indignation he died. Frederik the Elector a prudent and Religious Prince neither yeilded to the Popes desire, nor vouchsafed his Rose any respect: though Mulitius wonderfully boasted of it at Dresfa, & sayd: *Doctor Martin is in my power.* About this time the Bohemians sending a booke written by Iohn Hus to Luther, encouraged him to constancy and patience: and confessed that the Divinity taught by Luther was sound and right.

Matters being growne to this height of dispute, and Luther having many adversaries; at Leipsick a towne in Misnia belonging to George Duke of Saxony Cosen german to Prince Frederik, in the 19. yeere a disputation was held. Thither came Andre-as Carlostadius accompanied with Luther, Melancthon and Barpinus Duke of Pomerania. He at that time was in office in the University of Wittenberg. Thither came also Iohn Eckius a Divine of Ingolstadt.

D 3

Here.

Mulitius reproveth Tezelius.

Tom. 1. ep. Luth. p. 152. and 208. Tezelius his death.

The Bohemians encourage Luther.

Carlostadius dispute with Eckius.



Hereupon the 17. day of June, *John Eckius* and *Caroloſtadius* began the diſputation about free-will. Namely, whether there be in man any free will to doe good as of himſelfe? that is, as they ſay: whether in congruitie we deſerve grace, when we doe what is in us to doe? *Eckius* granted that there is not in man a genuine and naturall power and abilitie to doe a good worke, but an acquired. On this point eight dayes were ſpent by his playing the Sophiſter.

*Luther* invited  
by *Eckius* to  
diſpute.

*Luther* could by no meanes obtaine leave of Duke *George* freely with his ſafety to diſpute, and thereupon came not as a diſputer, but an as Auditor to *Leipſick*, under the protection granted to *Caroloſtadius*. Whereupon *Eckius* comming to *Luthers* Lodging ſaid, that he heard that *Luther* reſuſed to diſpute; *Luther* answered: How can I diſpute, ſeeing I cannot obtaine protection from *George* the Duke. To this *Eckius* replied: If I may not diſpute with you, I will no longer diſpute with *Caroloſtadius*. For I leave him to diſpute with you. If I can obtaine for you the Dukes leave, will you diſpute? When *Luther* aſſented thereunto, *Eckius* preſently procured for him a publique grant of ſafety and liberty to diſpute. This *Eckius* did out of an aſſured confidence of victorie and renowne to himſelfe, by confirming that the Pope is the Head of the Church, *Iure Divino*, by Divine right: which *Luther* denied. Hence *Eckius* tooke occaſion at large to flatter the Pope and demerit his favour, and to derive much hatred and envie on *Luther*. This the bold champion ſtoutly attempted in the whole diſputation, but was not able

Whether the  
Pope be head  
of the Church  
*Jura Divino*.



ble to make good his cause, or confute Luther. *Eckius* chiefe arguments were : *that the Church could not be without an head, seeing it was a body consisting of severall members.* Then he produced the place in *Matthew* : *Thou art Peter &c.* and some speeches of *S<sup>t</sup> Ierome* and *Cyprian*, and the Councel of *Constance*, where against the Articles of the *Hussites*, it was concluded : *That it was necessary to salvation, that men should beleewe that the Pope was the Oecumenicall Bishop, or Christs vicar over the whole world.* Afterward they entred into dispute about *Purgatorie*, and *Indulgences*, (but in brieft) about *repentance*, about *remission both of sin and its punishment*, and about the power of priests. The two last dayes *Carlostadius* disputed againe, and on the 14. day of July the disputation ended. This disputation was set forth afterward by *Luther*, who granted *that the Pope by humane right was head of the Church.* Whereupon *Duke George* inviting *Luther* and *Eckius* to dinner, and embracing both of them, sayd : *Whether the Pope have his auctority by divine or humane right, Pope he is.* *Luther* afterward changed his opinion about this point. Before this disputation at *Leipsick*, *Luther* was desired by *Charles Miltition* to goe to *Constance*, there to plead his cause before him being the Popes Commissary. But *Luther* excused himselfe, and shewed that for many reasons, he neither could, nor ought to goe thither.

In the yeere 1520. upon *Miltition* advise, *Luther* wrote to the Pope, and sent him his booke lately written concerning *Christian liberty*, and offered conditions

*Eckius* his argument.

Epist. Tom.  
1. p. 176.

*Luther* wrote to the Pope  
An. 1520.

ditions of peace. About this time *Frederik* the Elector fell into a grievous sickness. Whereupon Luther moved by some friends, and out of Christian charity wrote the booke called *Tesseradecas* to comfort him. Then also he wrote the booke *Of Confession of sins*: in which he took occasion to speak of vowes, and deplored their torturing of mens consciences. And whereas in an other Treatise written by him, he had said: *that he judged it behoofesfull, if the Councel would so permit, that the Lords supper should be administred to all in both kindes*: This speech, because it directly crossed the last *Lateran Councel*, was excepted against by many: amongst whom was *John Bishop of Misnia*; who prohibited the the Churchmen under his jurisdiction to administer the Lords supper in both kindes; and enjoyned them to suppress *Luthers* booke. Luther maintained his cause and answered his Edict. In the mean time the Divines of *Lozan* (consulting with *Adrian Cardinal of Dershus* then in *Spain*) and the Divines of *Cullen* by a decree censure some of *Luthers* bookes as wicked and worthy to be burnt: and held it fit that *Luther* should recant his opinions. When *Luther* heard of this, he answered every particular punctually. And because he found so many and so great adversaries, he wrote to *Charles* the fifth newly created Emperour: and intreating pardon for this his addresse, humbly besought him, that he would so long onely afford him protection, as that he might give account of his proceedings, and overcome, or be overcome: because it would well beseme the Imperial

The Divines  
of *Lozan* and  
*Cullen* oppose  
*Luther*,

*Luther* writeth  
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fifth Empe-  
rour.

rial power not to permit the innocent to be violently handled, and trampled on by their wicked adversaries. To the same purpose he wrote to other the Dukes and Lords of the Empire, and shewed them how he began and was drawn into these attempts. Not long after he wrote to *Albertus Archbishop of Mentz*, Cardinal, and in submissive manner shewed how he was condemned by two sorts of men; one who never read his books; the other, who read them, but with hearts full of hatred and prejudice. The Bishop answered, that he heartily desired, that all sacred matters should be handled both by Luther and all other Divines; (as it was meet) religiously, reverently, modestly, without tumults, envie, contumely. He said moreover, that it was a griefe to him to heare, that some great men disputed concerning the Primacie of Rome, free-will, and other sleight matters (so he call'd them) not much pertaining to a Christian indeed: and that such like rash opinions could not be broached among the ignorant people, but with encouraging them to disobedience. He wrote also about the Lords Suppers celebrating in both kinds, and about the Authoritie of Councils. And shut up his letter with Gamaliels verdict. If thy work be of God, it will stand firme and unmoveable: if it was begun of envie or pride, it will easily be blown away. In like manner Luther wrote to *Adolphus Bishop of Mersberg*, who answered him to the same purpose; and admonished him, that he would over-rule his pen with the love of Christ the Author of our peace.

At the same time it befell, that *Frederik Duke of Saxony* had some occasion to send to Rome, and

Luther writeth to the Archbishop of Mentz.

The Archbishops answer.

Tom. 2. Let. 11<sup>th</sup>. pag. 48.

1530.

The Duke of Saxon maliced for Luther.

His excuse.  
Tom. 2. Lat.  
17<sup>th</sup> Itemb. p. 30.

gave the businesse in charge to *Valentine a Dishle-*  
*ben a German.* He brought word back, *that the Ele-*  
*ctor was in disgrace at Rome for Luthers sake:* be-  
cause he permitted his new opinions to be disper-  
sed. The Prince hereupon thus wrote in his own  
defence, and answered, *That he never defended the*  
*doctrine and books of Luther, nor was of that bent:*  
*and though he did heare, that many learned men appro-*  
*ved Luthers judgement; yet he opened not his minde*  
*therein. Further he said, that Luther was ready to give*  
*an account of his doctrine before the Papes Legate, so*  
*that he might be assured of safe conduct: and that if his*  
*error was detected, he would change his opinion: and*  
*that Luther of his own accord would have departed out*  
*of those coasts, had not Multicius perswaded to detain*  
*him there, rather then to permit him to settle else-*  
*where, that so he might more freely and safely attempt*  
*some higher designe. And therefore that there was no*  
*cause, why any one should have a will opinion of him.*

Tom. 2. Lat.  
Wittenb. pag.  
51. &c.  
The Popes  
Bull.

\* Tom. 1. epist.  
pag. 249.  
Luther  
thought of a  
place to retire  
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To this Letter the Pope returned answer, and  
sending a Copie of the Bull, which *Eckius* had ob-  
tained, desired, *that the Elector would make Luther*  
*to recant, or if he refused so to do, he would imprison him,*  
*and keep him safe, till he further declared his pleasure.* At  
this the Court of *Saxony* was somewhat troubled;  
and *Luther* began to think of some retired place,  
where he might conceale himself. Some Noble  
*Germans* approvers of *Luthers* judgement, hearing  
this, offered *Luther* entertainment and protection,  
as namely, *Francis a Sickingen, Hulderike Hatten, Syl-*  
*vester de Schavenbagen.* Of whom the said *Sylvester*  
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wrote to *Luther*, and intrrated him, not to depart into *Bohemia*, or into any other countrey, but to come to him, during the time of the Popes exasperation and menaces, and promised that an 100. French Horse should attend his safetie. Hereupon *Luther* taking courage admonisheth *Spalatinus*, that this course should by the Letter of *Duke Frederik*, be made known to the Cardinal of *S. George*. These are *Luthers* words. I send you the Letter of *Sylvester Schavenb.* the French Knight, and were it not displeasing to you, I desire that by the letter of the Prince, notice may be given to the Cardinal of *S. George*, whereby they may know, that should they with their threats and curses expell me from *Witten*, they should effect nothing else, but so make a bad matter much worse. For now there are not onely in *Bohemia*, but even in the midst of *Germany* such Princes, who both will and can defend me from the threats thundred out against me by mine adversaries. And then perhaps it may so fall out, that biding under their protection, I shall more strongly bend my forces against the Romanists, then if under the Princes government, I should publiquely performe my place as Reader of Divinitie. This, unlesse God prevent it, will doubtlesse be the issue of this matter. Hitherto I have given all due respect to the Prince, but then, if I be provoked by ill usage, I shall not need to submit unto him. And therefore in what matters soever I have not so roughly dealt with them, let them attribute my forbearance therein not to my modesty, nor to their tyranny, nor their deserts, but to my respect to the Prince, and to his authoritie, as also to the common good of the Students

Tom. I. epist.



His excuse.  
Tom. 2. Let.  
Wittenb. p. 30.

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Tom. I. epist.

of Wittenberg. Concerning my self, I venture upon the danger, and contemne Romes both fury and favour. Let them censure and burne all mine, I will not be reconciled to them, nor at any time hereafter joyne with them. On the contrary I (unlesse I can get no fire) will burn all the Pontifician law, the sink of heresies; yea, I will put an end to my humble observance, which I have hitherto in vaine shewed; and wherewith the enemies of the Gospel are more and more incensed.

Luther also before he saw the Popes Bull, put forth his book, Of the Babylonian Captivitie. In which he wished, that what he had written concerning Indulgences was abolished, and this proposition divulged in stead thereof; *Indulgences are the wicked tricks of Romes flatterers*: And in stead of what he wrote against the Pope, this Proposition; *The Pope-dome is a robustious Hunting practised by the Bishop of Rome*. Then he handled the Sacraments, and acknowledged but three of the seven to be Sacraments of Christs Covenant. He wrote also against the execrable Bull of Antichrist; and call'd the Pope *Antichrist*: and confirmed the Articles censured by the Bull.

Charles the Emperour that yeere came to *Aquisgran*, where with great solemnitie he was crowned Emperour. About the Calends of *Septemb.* he with *Frederik Elector* of Saxony went to *Colonia Agripina*. At this time the controversies of Religion being hotly prosecuted, the *Electors* would not suddenly do any thing of his own head, in a matter of so great import: but would try the votes of the most

Tom. 1. Lib. p.  
pag. 66.  
Book of Cap-  
tivitie of Ba-  
bylon.

The Pope  
called Anti-  
christ.

An. 1510.

most prudent and learned Clarkes, and among others of *Erasmus*, whom he sent for from *Levan* to *Collen*. When first he requested to heare *Erasmus* judgement concerning *Luther*, and wondered that so great and extreame hatred should be raised by some Monks and the Pope against *Luther*, whose life and carriage he conceived to be commendable, and his doctrine not impious; *Erasmus* answered in a pleasant manner; *That his Highnesse needed not wonder at that: for Luther had in his disputations dealt against the Monks bellies, and the Popes crowne.* Afterward seriously and gravely giving his opinion concerning the controversies of these times, he shewed, *that Indulgences, and other abuses and superstitions were justly taxed, and that their reformation was necessary, and that the summe of Luthers doctrine was orthodox: and that onely he seemed too vehement and violent in contending with his adversaries: and that an Evangelical businesse was to be handled after an Evangelical manner.* *Frederick the Elector* being confirmed in the truth by the sage judgement of *Erasmus*, did gravely admonish *Luther* to moderate his fiercenesse in disputes. Then also there came to *Collen Martinus Corocialis* and *Ieronymus Alexander*, who again set upon Duke *Frederik* in the Popes name. But when the *Electer* answered not as they expected, they said, that they must deale with him according to the forme of the decree, and burnt *Luthers* books.

It is reported that these advocates of the Pope did promise *Erasmus* a Bishoprick of rich revenue,

*Erasmus*  
judgement  
about *Luthers*  
desired.

*Tom. 2. Lat.*  
*Skidan.*  
*Luthers* judgement.

*Tom. 2. Lat.*

*Luthers* books  
burnt.

*Erasmus* is in-  
telliged a-  
gainst Luther.

Lady Mar-  
garets answer.

Tom. 1. E-  
pist. p. 290.  
Luther burneth  
popish books.

Thirty errors  
of Popery.  
Tom. 2. lat.  
pag. 125.

if he would write against Luther. But he answered: *That Luther was a man too great for him to write against: and that he learned more from one short page of Luthers writings, then from all Thomas Aquinas bookes.* It is also said, that *Margaret* the Emperours Aunt, who ruled all *Belgium*, when the *Magistri nostri* of *Lovan* complained, that Luther with his writings did subvert all Christendome, did demand, what manner a man Luther was; when they answered, *that he was an unlearned Monke*; she replied: *Why then, see that all you learned men, being a great multitude, write against that one unlearned fellow: and doubtlesse the world will give more credit to many of you being learned, then to him being but one and unlearned.*

Luther knowing what was done with his writings, *An. 1520. Decemb. 10.* called the students of *Wittenberg* together, and in a frequent assembly of learned men, before the gate of *Elister* neer to the great Colledge, where a fire was made, cast the Popes lawes and the Bull of *Leo* with some writings of *Eckius*, *Emser*, and others therein; and said: *Because thou troublest Christ the holy one of God, eternall fire will trouble thee.* The next day he expounded the *Psalmes* and earnestly charged his auditors *that as they loved the salvation of their soules, they should take heed of the Popes statutes.* And in writing gave a reason presently of this his action. And out of the great multitude of errors in the Popes Lawes culled out these thirty.

1. *The Pope and his clergy are not bound to be subject and obedient to the commandments of God.*

2. 1;

2. It is not a precept, but a counsel of S<sup>t</sup> Peter, where he saith: That all men ought to be subject to Kings.

3. That by the Sun the Papal power, by the Moon the Imperial or secular power in a common wealth was signified.

4. That the Pope and his Chaire were not bound to be subject to Councils and Decrees.

5. That the Pope had in the Closet of his breast all lawes, and plenary power over all lawes.

6. Whence it followeth: That the Pope hath power to disannull, to change and determine of all Councels, and all Constitutions and Ordinances: as he daily practiseth.

7. That the Pope of Rome hath a right to require an oath of all Bishops, and to oblige them to him in regard of their palls received of him.

8. If the Pope be so neglective of his owne and his brethrens salvation, and so unprofitable and remisse in his place, that he carry along with himself (as if he were the chiefe slave of Hell) innumerable people to be eternally tormented; no mortall man ought to reprove him for this sinne.

9. That the salvation of all faithfull men dependeth on the Pope, next after God.

10. No man on earth can judge the Pope, or censure his determinations: but the Pope is judge of all men.

11. The Sea of Rome giveth authority to all rights and Lawes, and is it selfe subject to none of them.

12. The Rocks on which Christ, Matt. 16. buildeth his Church is the Sea of Rome, with them asforning.

13. The Keyes were given to Saint Peter onely.

14. Christ



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13. The Keyes were given to Saint Peter onely.

14. Christ

De Conſtit. c.  
 Translat. 25. q.  
 1. Jdco per-  
 mutante.

14. Christs Priesthood was translated from him to Saint Peter.

15. The Pope hath power to make Ordinances and Laws for the Catholike Church.

16. This sentence, whatsoever thou bindest on earth, shall also be bound in heaven, establisheth this conclusion: that the Pope hath power to charge the Catholike Church even with his rash lawes.

17. That his command of abstinence from flesh, egges, butter, and other meates made of milke, is to be observed, else men sin and are liable to excommunication.

18. The Pope forbidding all priests to marry wives, inhibits all the Priesthood from Matrimony.

19. Pope Nicolaus either the 3. or 4. in his Antichristian Decretal, among other matters badly decreed, well judged that Christ by giving the Keyes gave power over both the celestial and terrestrial kingdome.

20. The Pope judgeth that loud and impious lye for a truth and requireth that it be received, namely, That Constantine the Great gave him the Romans provinces and Countries and power over the whole inferior world.

21. The Pope affirmeth, that he is the heire of the sacred Roman Empire. De sentent. et re judic. c. Pastoralis.

22. The Pope teacheth that it is just and lawfull for a Christian by force to repulse force and violence.

23. That inferiours and subjects may be disobedient and resist their Princes, and that the Pope can depose Kings.

24. The

24. The Pope labourereth to have power to dissolve and breake all oathes, leagues, obligations made between superiours and inferiours.

25. The Pope hath power to break and alter vowes made to God. *De vot. et vot. red.*

26. The Pope teacheth that he that delays to pay his vow commanded by God, is not to be censured, as a breaker of his vow. *ibid.*

27. The Pope teacheth, that no married man or woman can serve God.

28. The Pope compareth his unprofitable lawes with the Gospels and sacred scriptures.

29. The Pope hath power to interpret and unfold or expound the sacred scripture as his pleasure and will: and to permit no man to interpret the same otherwise then the Pope himselfe pleaserh.

30. The Pope receiveth not his authority, power, strength, and dignitie from the scripture; but the scripture from the Pope.

This in brieft is the summe of the whole Canon Law: The Pope is God on earth, supreme in all heavenly, earthly, spirituall, and secular matters. And, All things are the Popes; to whom none dare say: what doe you?

Here Frederik Prince Elector obtained of the Emperour to call Luther to the Court held at Wormes in March An. 1521. Luther receiving the Emperours graunt for his safety, went from Wittenberg, and was conducted thence by Casparus Sturmius Herald, and accompanied with Justus Jonas, Ier. Schurfius, and Nic. Amserse. Of the students

F

he

Luther came  
for to Wormes.  
1521.  
And goeth  
thither.

he tooke onely *Peter Suavenus* a Dane as his companion: who afterward being called by *Christian* King of *Denmark* to his Court did much advance good letters, and did the Church good service. When he came to *Hidelberg*, he proffered to dispute publicly with any that would.

Some dehort  
him.

Here many did dehort *Luther* from going to *Worms*: Others said, that by the burning of his books, he might know what was the Popes censure concerning himselfe: Other told him of the usage of *Hus* and *Savonarola*. But *Luther* with a resolute courage lightly regarded their advise, and sayd, that these discouragements were but cast into his way by *Satan*, who knew, that by the profession of the truth, especially in so illustrious a place, his kingdome would be shaken and indamaged. He further brake forth into these words: If I knew that there were so many Devils at *Wormes*, as tiles on the houses, yet would I goe thither. Also *Francis* of *Sickingen* one in high esteeme with the Emperour, at *Bucers* request did invite *Luther* to come to his Castle at *Ebernburgh*: where the cause might more commodiously be agitated. But *Luther* answered, that he was sent for by the Emperour, not to *Ebernburgh*, but to *Wormes*: and thither he would goe. So taking his journey he came to *Wormes* on April the sixth, which was the third Holyday after *Misericordias Domini*. They say the Duke of *Bavaria* his Iester, whether suborned by others, or by some instinct, met *Luther* at his entrance into the towne with a Crosse, as is wont in funerals, and sung with a loud voyce: *Welcome comest thou*  
his be

*Luther* com-  
meth to  
*Worms*.

hither, and much desired of us, who sat in darknesse. Presently some counselled Caesar, that Luther was to be delt with, as they did with Haw. But Caesar thought it just to make good his promise: and especially *Lodowik the Elector Palatine* withstood the designment: and prudently sayd; *That if they should take that course with Luther, it would set a brand of infamy and eternall disgrace on the name of Germany.*

On the 17. day of *April*, at 4. a clock in the afternoon, he appeared before the *Emperour*, and many Princes, his Assesours. Here *John Eckius* a Lawyer, Caesars Spokesman, and Officiall of *Triers*, upon command laid, with an audible voyce. *Martin Luther, there are two causes, why Caesar with the consent of the Princes and States have sent for you: which I now propound to you, and expect your answer. First, Whether these Books* (here he held up a bundle of books written in the *Latine & German* tongues) *were written by you, and do you acknowledge them to be yours? The second, Whether you will revoke and recant any thing in them, or stand in defence of them.* *Jerome Schurfus* a Lawyer on *Luthers* part, desired that the titles of the books might be recited and spoken publicly, which being done, *Luther* briefly repeated what was desired of him, and answered. *Concerning the books now named, I professe and acknowledge that they be mine, but concerning my defence of what I have written, (that I may answer rightly chearfully) seeing it is a matter of very great moment, I desire, that I*

Promise of safety to Luther was to be kept.

Luther appeareth before Caesar.

What he is to answer to.

Luthers answer.



Luther encouraged by divers present.  
Mat. 10. 19.  
20.

Luthers second answer.

"may not speake rashly and against my conscience)  
"sometime to deliberate. After some debate of the matter, *Eckius* said again. "Though by *Cesar* letters missive you might well understand the cause, why you were sent for; and therefore need not to delay, but make your answer presently: "yet *Cesar*, such is his clemency, granteth you one day for to deliberate on the matter: and commands that to morrow about this houre you here present yourself; and make your distinct answer by word of mouth, and not by writing. Upon *Luthers* desiring of respite, some thought that he would not be constant: but they failed in their opinion. Here I may not passe it over in silence, that when *Luther* drew neere to *Casars* throne, many of the Princes Counsell encouraged him, saying: that he should be of good courage and not faint, *Nor feare them who could kill the body onely, but not hurt the soule*. Others put him in minde, to meditate on this: *When ye shall appeare before Kings and Princes, be not solicitous, how and what to answer: For in that moment, it shall be given you, what you shall say.*

The day following, *Luther* appeared at the houre appointed. And after that *Eckius* had asked him: *What now was his resolution?* he first humbly desired of the *Emperour* and *Princes*, "That they would grant him their gentle attention: and then said: "Of the books which I have written, some of them tend to faith and Pietie; to these my adversaries give ample Testimony. Should I recant these, I might be justly censured as a wicked man. Other  
"of



"of my books are against the Pope of Rome and  
 "Papisticall doctrine, which both hath and still  
 "doth much trouble the Christian world, and doth  
 "much mischief. These should I revoke, I should  
 "confirm their tyranny. The third sort of my  
 "books are against some private men, who defend  
 "the Papists cause, and by many calumnies upon  
 "me. In these, I confesse, I have been too vehement:  
 "and besides I confesse, that I am not of an uner-  
 "ring perfection: but yet I can not safely revoke  
 "these books, unlesse I will set open a gap to the  
 "impudency of many. Being a man I may erre:  
 "and therefore desire any one better to instruct  
 "me by the testimony of Scripture. *When he had*  
 "*thus said, Eckius with a sowe countenance replied.*  
 "You answer not to the matter, nor doth it per-  
 "taine to you to call the authoritie of the Coun-  
 "cell into question. A plaine and direct answer is  
 "required of you, whether you desire that your  
 "writings should stand good. *Then said Luther.*  
 "Seeing you, O Cæsar, and the Princes command  
 "me to answer punctually, I obey. This is my re-  
 "solution: Unlesse I be convicted by testimony  
 "of Scripture or evident reason, I may not revoke  
 "any thing, which I have written or spoken. *For I*  
 "*will not in any wise wound my conscience.* I do not  
 "conforme my beleefe to the Popes or the Coun-  
 "cels determinations alone, for they have often  
 "erred and delivered contrarieties one to ano-  
 "ther. I neither can nor will doe any thing con-  
 "cerning Gods word to the offence of my consci-  
 "ence.

Eckius indig-  
 nation and  
 reply.

*Cæsars Letter  
to the Prin-  
ces about Lu-  
thers cause.*

“ence. Seeing it is neither safe nor honest to do a-  
“ny thing against conscience. This will I stand to:  
“vary from this I may not. God helpe me, Amen.  
When he was againe urged, he persisted in this an-  
swer. So they departed.

The next day *Cæsar* sent a letter to the assembly  
of the Princes; this was the summe thereof. “Our  
“ancestors and other Christian Princes obeyed  
“carefully the Church of Rome which now D<sup>r</sup>  
“*Martin Luther* opposeth: now because he is reso-  
“lute not to yeeld one inch of his errors, we can-  
“not without a blemish to our name depart from  
“the example of our ancestors, but must de-  
“fend the ancient faith, and be assistant to the Sea  
“of Rome: we will then excommunicate *Martin*  
“*Luther* himselfe and all his adherents, and take a-  
“ny other course, which may conduce to extin-  
“quish these disputes. But we will not in any wise  
“violate, and breake our promise made to him  
“under our seale, but give him safe conduct to the  
“place, whence he came.

This Letter of *Cæsar* was diligently and a good  
while scanned in the Senate by the Princes. It is  
reported that some there were among them, who  
would have followed the decree and practise of the  
Council of *Constance*: and held themselves not  
bound to make good the promise of his safe return.  
But some of the Princes, especially *Lodowick* Prince  
*Palatine* (as it is reported) earnestly withstood  
them. Wherefore they judged that not onely fide-  
lity was to be observed towards him, but also, that  
he

he was not rashly to be condemned: because the matter was of very great consequence, whatsoever the Emperour decreed: whom being newly come to the Imperiall seat they did well perceive to be pressed and provoked by the Popes instruments against Luther.

After a few dayes the Archbishop of *Triers* and other Princes, who by *Casars* permission were present, call Luther April 24. unto them. The Bishop then in a friendly manner delt with him to desist from his resolution. But Luther giving him thanks for care of his sa'ety, stood firmly in his former doctrine: and submitted what ever he had written to *Casars* and the Princes perusal, and judgement, so that they tried them by Gods word. When the Bishop asked him, what remedy he knew or could advise for these stirres? Luther answered: None other then that of *Gammaliel* in the Acts of the Apostles. If this counsel and proceeding be of Men, it will not continue: if of God, no power of man can dissolve it. And this he besought him to signifie to the Pope. The Bishop againe said, What if the Articles were collected and submitted to the Council? Luther answered, Yes they might, so that they were not the same which the Council at *Constance* condemned. The Bishop replying: that he feared they would be the very same. Luther courageously answered, Those will I defend, though I was presently to die. Hereupon the Bishop quietly dismissed Luther: who intreated him, that he might have leave to returne to his friends, and have safe conduct from *Cesar*. The Bishop promised to obtaine it for him, and a little while

The Archbishop of *Triers* dealing with Luther. *Striden. B. 3.*

while after sent *Eckius* the officer of *Cesar* to signifie to *Luther*, "that he had free liberty to depart "under *Casars* protection within 21. dayes: with-  
 "all he was bid not to preach in his journey home,  
 "nor to write any thing, which might rayse further  
 stirres. *Luther* answered "As it seemeth good to  
 "the Lord, so be it: blessed be the name of God.  
 Afterward he gave humble thankes to *Cesar* and  
 the Princes, and commended himselfe to them.

*Luthers* depar-  
 ture from  
*Wormes*.

On the 26. of April *Luther* taking his leave de-  
 parted from *Wormes*. *Casp. Sturmius* a Messenger  
 some houres after followed him, and found him at  
*Openheim*. *Luther* being in his journey sent Letters  
 backe both to *Cesar* and the Princes Electors, and  
 States of the Empire, "commending himselfe and  
 "his cause to them, and sayd he was ready to doe  
 "any thing, which was meet, except to revoke a-  
 "ny thing, that he knew to be warranted by Gods  
 "word. The Emperour hereupon, May the 28.  
 proscribed *Luther*: whom Pope *Leo* on the 28. of  
 March on the day of the administration of the  
 Lords Supper, had excommunicated. At this  
 all men stood earnestly expecting, what those thun-  
 der-bolts would effect.

*Luther* ex-  
 communicate  
 & proscribed.

*Frederik* the Elector a prudent Prince, seeing *Lut-  
 her* to have incurred the hatred of all, that no  
 danger might seize on him, committed the busi-  
 nesse of conveying *Luther* into some safe place,  
 where he might be free from access, to some faith-  
 full friends of the Nobility, that there he should be  
 kept private, till *Cesar* was departed out of Ger-

many.

many. They presently, faithfully, and secretly conveyed him to the Castle of *Wartenburg* neere *Isenack*: This place *Luther* afterward used to call his *Patmos*. There were but eight privy to this, who did it with that secrecy that not any but themselves could know what was become of him. It is reported that the *Papists* set their wifards on worke to descry him: but they could not certainly designe the place where he was. *Luther* abode in that woody wilderness about tenne monethes: and in this retirednesse wrote diverse usefull Treatises for the Church; as the *Explications of the Gospels and Epistles* dedicated to *Albertus* of *Mansfield*: the book against *Lasomus* about sinne remaining in the regenerate. Besides he cut in two the two sinnewes of the Popes kingdome, namely, *Private Masses* and *Monastick Vowes*, which books he dedicated to the *Augustine Friers* (who in his absence abrogated private *Masses* and began to dispute about *Monastick Vowes*) and to his Father. They of *Wittenberg* also gave a reason to the *Electer* why they did so: and shewed to what end Temples and Colledges were instituted at the first; that is, not for private *Masses*, but that young people might be there brought up piously: and that the meanes they were indowed with, were for the use of both Readers and scholars that were in want. And that this buying and selling of *Masses* was crept in within foure hundred yeeres of that time. *Luther* found courteous entertainment and kind respect in that his wilderness: for in his Epistles he often mentions the friendly offices of his Host: to whom

*Luther* conveyed to *Wartenburg*.  
*Luthers Patmos*.

*Luthers* works written in this his retirednesse.

Private masse taken away at *Wittenberg*.



Luthers taking the aire and his recreation.

Hunting is a resemblance of the devils practise.

whom he preached on the Lords day and at Festival times in his private Chappell. Some times *Luther* for his healths sake went forth into the strawberry groves, and somewhat farther into the Monasteries, which were neere, taking upon him the name *Lunker George* a noble man, and accompanied onely with one attendant, who was faithfull and secret, and would often warne *Luther* in the places where they were entertained, *not presently to lay aside his sword, and to take in hand the books before him, for so he might be descried.* Sometimes he went forth a hunting with his friends. Of this sport thus he writeth. "I was a hunting two dayes, to see that lordly  
"but bitter-sweet sport. Here we took two Hares,  
"and some silly young Partridges. The sport is  
"meet for such as have nothing else to do. There  
"did I contemplate as a Divine amidst their nets  
"and dogs. Nor did the outward appearance of  
"the game more delight me, then what I conceived by it, move me to pitie and griefe. For what  
"could this sport signifie and resemble, but by the  
"dogs, wicked Popish divines, and by the nets, the  
"cunning tricks and wiles by which they seeke to  
"catch harmlesse Christians, as hunters those silly  
"creatures? This was a most evident mysterie of  
"the pursuing of plain hearted and faithfull souls.  
"Yet was there a more cruell mysterie presented  
"to me: When by my meanes, we kept a young  
"Hare alive, and put her in my Coats sleeve, and  
"so left her: in the meane time the dogs finding  
"it, broke one of her legs, and taking her by the  
"throat,



“as she was in the sleeve, stopt her wind. Thus it is  
 “with Satan and the Pope, who cruelly destroy  
 “poore souls without regard of my paines to save  
 “them. I was by this time weary of this sport, and  
 “thought that more pleasing, where Beares,  
 “Wolves, Bores, Foxes, and such like savage crea-  
 “tures are strook dead with darts and arrows. It  
 “comforted me again, (for I took it as a mystery &  
 “resemblance of salvation) that Hares and harm-  
 “less creatures are taken by men, & not by Beares,  
 “Wolves and ravenous Hawkes who resemble Po-  
 “pish Bishops and Divines: because by these may  
 “be signified a devouring by Hell, by those an ea-  
 “ting of them as food for heaven.

He passed also to *Wittenberg* from his *Palmar* mak-  
 ing few acquainted therewith, and lodged with  
*Amldorf*: here he spent some few dayes and was  
 merry with his friends, without the Electors know-  
 ledge. In his retirednesse he was much troubled  
 with costivenesse, having the benefit of naturall  
 ease that way but once in foure or five dayes: Then  
 also was he tried by some devillish tentations, which  
 much disquieted him. This disease he overcame by  
 exercise, and medicines sent him from *Spalatinus*.  
 Then read he also the Hebrew and Greek Bibles:  
 and besides the books above mentioned, he wrote  
 many letters to his friends, which be now printed.

At length not enduring further delay and inno-  
 vations, he returned from his *Palmar* to *Wittenberg*,  
 without the knowledge of the Electour. *March*  
 the sixth, *Ann. 1522*. he rendered these reasons of

He came pri-  
 vately to *Wit-  
 tenberg*.  
*Tom. 1. epist.*  
*pag. 367.*  
*Luthers infor-*  
*miat.*  
*Tom. 1. epist.*  
*pag. 361.*

He returned  
 to *Wittenberg*.

Tom. 3. epist.  
pag. 47.

Luthers confi-  
dence, and re-  
lying on God.

his return to the Electour. First, said he, I am call'd back by the Letters of the Church and People of Wittenberg, and that with much sollicitation and entreaty. Secondly, at Wittenberg Satan hath made an inroad into my flock, and raised such stirres, that I cannot well repress and quiet them with my writing alone, but of necessitie I must live there, be present among them, and both heare them and speake to them, goin and out before them, and do what I can for their good. Besides I feare, that some great and violent scdition will arise in Germany, and make Germany undergo grievous punishments for its contempt and ingratitude. I thought it therefore needfull to do doe what I ought and could for them in this regard by my counsell and endeavour, to teach, admonish and exhort them, thereby to avert Gods anger and judgement, or at least to stay them awhile. Furthermore, I know well, and am verily perswaded that my preaching, and my proceeding to divulge the Gospel of Christ is not of my own motion; but the worke of God. Nor shall any kinde of death or persecution shake this my confidence, and make me thinke otherwise; and I conceive that I rightly divine that no terrors or crueltie can put out the light already shining. And in an other Epistle. I return to Wittenberg under a more sublime and strong protection; then the Elector of Saxonic can give me. Nor did I ever minde to sue for defence from your Highnesse. Moreover did I know that your Highnesse would and could defend me, verily I would not returne. No sword can advance and maintaine this cause. God alone can order and promote it, without any mans excessive care and helpfull hand. Therefore in  
this

this cause he that most strongly trusts to Gods assistance, he most surely defendeth himself and others. Seeing therefore I perceive your Highnesse to be weak in faith, I can by no meanes attribute so much to your Highnesse, as to be perswaded that I can be defended and freed from danger by you. I will keep your Highnesse person, your minde and body, and estate safe from all danger and damage in this my cause, whether you beleeve me or not. Let your Highnesse then be assured and not doubt at all, that this matter is farre otherwise concluded of in heaven, then at Norimberg. For we shall finde, that they which think they have deuoured all the Gospel and queld it in the rising, are not yet come to the Benedicite. I haue to deale with another manner and more powerfull Prince, then our Duke. He knoweth me, and I him conveniently well. Did your Highnesse beleeve, you should behold the wonderfull works and glory of God: Where-as you not yet beleeving, see none of these things. To God be glory and praise for ever. This and much more to this purpose he wrote, shewing his full assurance and plerophory of faith most admirable. He also wrote thus to Melancthon concerning the cause of his return. Provide a lodging for me, for the Translation of the Bible compels me to return to you: pray to God that it may stand with his good pleasure. I desire to conceale my self, as much as I can, yet will I proceed in my worke resolved upon. He wrote the like to Ambsdorf: That for the translation of the Bible he must return to Wittenberg, that therein he might use a better mans counsell and help.

Luther being returned, from the Lords Day first

Another  
cause of Lu-  
thers return.

in Lent that whole weeke every day preached one Sermon, these are extant: and in them he shewed what he liked or disliked in the alterations made in his absence. He found fault with them, *whohad abrogated private Masse and Idols, and administred the Lords Supper in both kinds, and taken away auricular confession, differences of meats, invocation of Saints, and other the like matters; not because they had done impiously, but because they proceeded not herein orderly.* He affirmed that he condemned the Papisticall Masse, the worshipping of Images, the rules of auricular confession, prayer to Saints, the Popish fasting: but he did condemne them onely by the Word of God preached, and not by a violent abrogation of them. How much he prevailed by those Sermons, he telleth in these words. I, saith he, gave offence to *Carlostade*, because I blamed his proceedings, though I condemned not his doctrine. Onely this disliked me, that dealing about ceremonies and outward matters, he laboured lesse in that which is Christian doctrine indeed, namely, faith and charitie: for by his unadvised course of teaching, he brought the people to this passe, that he thought himselfe a Christian by these petty matters, by communicating in both kinds, by not using confession, and by breaking down images, &c. And this was the beginning of dissention between *Luther* and *Carlostade*.

In this 22. yeer the New Testament came forth, as it was translated into the *German* tongue in his *Patmos*, and afterward revised somewhat by  
\* Me.

*Carlostade* offended with  
*Luther*.

1522.  
*Luther* translated the  
New Testament and  
printed it.

\* *Melancthon*. Some Popish Princes and Bishops prohibited their people to read it. He wrote also a Letter to the \* *Bohemians* concerning matters of great moment: and exhorted them to constancie in the truth, which they had received, and that they would not fall back to Antichrist for a vain hope of peace: He also dissuaded them from making themselves guiltie of the innocent blood of John Hus and Jerome of Prague. And where as some objected their many different Sects, he shewed that there were many more among the Papists: and prescribed the Bohemians a course, how they might cure this disease. Here he inveighed earnestly against such Bishops, as did condemne and persecute the doctrine of the Gospel: and being often provoked did neither defend their own doctrine, nor refute *Luthers*. He shewed them that by their tyranny they should not prevaile: because he was neither moved by the Popes Anathema or curse, nor Cæsars proscription, and that he would endeavour so much the more to propagate the Gospel, and set to it with the more courage, by how much the more violently they withstood it: and that the Gospel would not be extinguished, though they should kill him: and that God would plague them most conspicuously and grievously, if they proceeded in their furious course. In this booke he so angered the then Bishops, Abbats, Monks, and the whole dregs of them, that they resolved that seeing they could not burne *Luther* himself, they would burne all his books.

About this time also, *Luther* confuted *Nicolaus*

*Stork*,

\* *Melanct.* written about it.  
Tom. 2. ep. 11. p. 59. & ep. 11. to Camerac.  
\* Tom. 2. ep. 11. pag. 85.



Luthers dealing with the ring-leaders of the Anabaptists.

Luthers harsh answer to the King of England.

Luthers excuse for so writing.

Stork, Thomas Muncer and other fanaticall ring-leaders, and Prophets broaching new doctrines, who pretended revelations Angelical, and conferences with God, and denyed the Baptisme of infants: and thereby sowed the seed of Anabaptisme. These false prophets came from the *Cygnean* Citie to *Wittenberg*, in *Luthers* absence, and molested *Carlostade*, and *Melancthon*. Now also *Luther* answered *Henry* the eight King of *England*, who, as other adversaries also, set out a book against *Luther*, and had given him by Pope *Leo* the title of *Defender of the Faith of the Church*. Onely *Luther* answered him somewhat sharply: which course some of *Luthers* friends disliked. Of the same thus *Erasmus* wrote. If *Luther* first commending the godly care of the King, had afterward with solid arguments refuted his opinions, and laid no disgrace on the Kings person, I suppose he, had done that which would much have advanced his cause. Again. What set *Luther* on, to say in his book against the King? Let your Highnesse come to me, and I will teach you. Truly the Kings book was written in a good Latine style, and not unlearnedly. *Luther* thus excuseth this his fact: If any man be offended at my sharpnesse towards the King, I thus answer him. In that book I have to do with senselesse monsters, who contemne my best and most modest writings, and my humble submission, and are more hardened by my calmnesse. Besides I abstained from bitter speeches and lies, with which the Kings book is full fraught: nor is it any great matter, if I give no more respect to an earthly King, and speake sharply, seeing he was not afraid to blaspheme



blasphemes the King of Heaven with his speech, and to speake profanely in his virulent lyes. God the righteous Judge divide the matter between us. This book he dedicated to Sebastian Earle of Schlick, whose singular pietie and zeale he commendeth: and saith, he will make this writing the beginning of his flying to the Bohemians. For both the King and others had falsely accused him of flying thither and did triumph and brag, saying: *We have wonne the day, the Heretick is fled to the Hereticks.*

In the yere 1523. at the Assembly at Norinberg, the Emperour being absent, the decree made at Wormes was disannulled. And when the Popes Legate complained thereof, and said, that Luther was not punished according to Casars decree, The Princes answered that most men in Germany were so instructed by Luthers Sermons and books, that if that decree had been executed, it would have given occasion of great sedition: and that this construction would have been made thereof: namely, that the truth of the Gospel was thereby oppressed and extinguished, and manifest errors and evils stood for, which might not be tolerated or winked at any longer. And that now this assembly was gathered; that a free Councell might shortly be kept in Germany at Mentz, or Argentorate, or Mets, or Cullen. And that in the meane time Luther and others should set forth no books; the Preachers should Preach nothing but the Gospel, plainly and modestly, according to the interpretations commonly received by the Church; that such Preachers as transgressed should be mildly punished, by fit men appointed by the Bishops: lest any

Sebastian Earle  
of Schlick.

1523.  
An assembly  
at Norinberg.

A Councell  
to be held in  
Germany.

new 1025  
in 1025  
1025 1025

The hundred  
grievances of  
Germany.  
Steid. lib. 4.  
pag. 29.

Luther inter-  
prets the De-  
cree.  
Steidan. 4. pag.  
83.

Cæsar was  
offended at  
the Decree.

one should suspect, that this was done to hinder the free preaching of the Gospel: that the Printers should imprint, or divulge nothing, but what was allowed and approved by learned and judicious men; that the Priests who had married wives, should be amerced according to the award of the Popes laws. There were here also exhibited to the Legate an hundredth grievances of the German nation: of which we will speak else-where.

This Decree was diversly interpreted by severall parties. Luther by his letters to the Princes declared how he conceived the meaning of it. And 1, that they commanding that the Gospel should be taught according to the received judgement of the Church, intended not according to the course of Thomas or Scotus, but of Hilario, Ambrose, Augustine and the like. Again, that the Bishops should chuse fit men, who should be present at Sermons, and mildly admonish such as offended, if need were. This Luther shewed to be well decreed, but could never be effected: because they wanted learned men. Concerning that which they decreed about books, he rejected it not: so that the decree did not extend to the sacred books of the Scripture; the publishing whereof was in no wise to be prohibited. Lastly, concerning the amercing of Priests who either married, or left their order, the decree was too harsh, and if the Gospel was purely to be preached, ought to be mitigated. The Emperour was somewhat offended with this decree, and at-tempted

"tempted by his Legate to take it away: but all in vain. For this businesse was farre otherwise concluded of in heaven then at Norimberg, as Luther wrote. For the Princes and Cities of the Empire strove, who first should admit the reformed doctrine. This was done in Denmark, Prussia, Livonia, Silesia, and elsewhere.

In this yeere Luther set forth the book concerning the dignitie and office of the Civil Magistrate: Frederik the Elder was much delighted with this book. He wrote also to the Waldenses, commonly called the Picards, concerning the adoring the Sacrament. In which book he first mentions the opinion of Berengarius concerning the Lords Supper, before he began the contention with the Helvetians.

He now also set forth the five books of Meiser in the German tongue, three thousand yeeres since the death of Moses. He published also a book to the Senate of Prague, about ordaining of Ministers; and another, about avoiding the doctrine of men. He wrote this yeere also to the Livonians, and shewed his great joy at their entertaining the Evangelical doctrine, which many tyrants in Germany sought obstinately to oppresse: and forewarned them, that they must expect cruell persecutions of the same kind, to the undergoing whereof, he gravely and piously exhorted them, encouraging them to be resolute and to persevere valiantly in the truth of the Gospel, which they had received. He further did instruct them briefly and

H 2

"plainly,

The Gospel propagated.  
Tom. 2. 1593.  
pag. 131.

Luthers book concerning the Civil Magistrate.  
1523.

The German Pentateuch.

The forme  
of the Masse  
set out by Lu-  
ther.

Chytreus in  
Sax. 10. pag.  
282.

Auricular  
Confession.

3. Martyrs in  
Germany.  
1523

\* Epist. b. 21.  
b. 7. and b.  
34. E. 4.

plainely concerning Justifying faith and the true nature of good workes.

He this yeere also set forth a forme of the Masse, and Communion; herein he retained all the usuall rites, which were not plainly repugnant to the word of God: as the *preface* of the *psalmes*, the *Kyrie*, the *Collect*, the *Epistle*, the *sequence*, the *Gospel*, the *Credo*, the *sermon*, the *prayers*, the *preface*, the *Sanctus*, the *Lords prayer*, the *wordes of the Lords supper*, the *Elevation*, the *agnus Dei*, the *Thanksgiving*. But the *Canon of the Masse*, which transformed the *Lords supper* into a sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, he wholly omitted. This was the first change of the rites, though *Carlostadius* attempted the like before. *Auricular confession* was also brought into use againe, and *private absolution* also, which *Carlostadius* had abandoned. And when 2. Monkes of the *Augustinian* profession were the first day of *Calpurne* by the *Augustines*, & first shed their blood for the reformed doctrine of the faith, *Luther* renowned their constancy with an hymne of Praise, and praised them as the first Martyrs of his time. Of this story also *Erasmus* writeth. Then also *Luther* sent a Letter consolatory to the *Augustines* which is extant amidst his workes. He was also to the *Wiltebergians*, who were then in danger for the Gospels sake. Their first instructor was *John Draco Carlostadius*. *Luther* also comforted three noble *Misnian* virgins, which were turned out of the *Pri-burg* Court of *Henry Duke of Saxonia*. Other Nuns left their Cloysters elsewhere; whereupon

*Luther*

Luther wrote thus to Spalatinus. There came to me those nine converted Nunnes, who left Nimpschen Monastery: miserable is their case, but they were conducted by honest citizens of Targow, "namely by Leonard Coppe, and his uncles Ionne, and Wolfin Tomir-  
"zech, that there is no cause of suspition. I much  
"pity them, but especially many other their like,  
"who every where in great number perish by their  
"curfed and incestuous chaffitie. That sex is most  
"weake of it selfe, and by Gods and natures ap-  
"pointment, is to be a mate for man, and being by  
"papistickall crueltie shut up from men is brought  
"into perdition. Among them was Katherin de Bo-  
"ra who afterward was Luthers wife. He writes to  
to the same Spalatinus elsewhere of other Nunnes,  
thus. "There departed 16. Nunnes out of the Mo-  
"nastery of Widdersbotten under the Earle of Mans-  
"field; of which 11. came to the Quaster of Alster.  
"Of them Albertus received five. It is now deba-  
"ted among them, whether they ought to be re-  
"tained or rejected. Nor yet is here an end of  
"our newes. This yeere is most fruitfull of Novel-  
"ty, and as I perceiue still will be. Luther also o'ten  
"was earnest with the Elector of Saxony (uing to  
"him by Spalatinus) that he would demolish the Wyl-  
"tembergian Beshawen, that is the Colledge of All  
"Soules. And gave this reason. Because almost all  
"the Priests there not onely liue wickedly, but al-  
"so are contemners of God, and men with obsti-  
"nate hearts, and every night play the whorema-  
"sters, and in the mornings say Masse with an im-  
"pudent

Nunnes lea-  
ving their  
Cloysters.

Tom. 2. E.  
pist. p. 151.

Tom. 2. ep.  
p. 139.

Tom. 2. ep.  
p. 134. and  
112.



"pudent and brazen forehead: For this he called  
 " *Amsdorfe* to witnesse: and sayd that all of them,  
 " except three, were wanton persons, and not to  
 " be maintained: yea, that it was the duty of the  
 " Magistrates to prohibite their whoredom, & com-  
 " pell them to marry. For though no man can be  
 " compelled and forced to the truth: yet pub-  
 " lique wickednesse is to be taken away. At the  
 " least the Masses might be forbore, which were  
 " maintained at the Princes charge, and were wick-  
 " edly performed, and to no good end.

John the Prince of *Anhalt* by Doctor *Jeromy-  
 mus* and a *Franciscan* warned Luther to acquite  
 himselfe of holding a new Article, with which *Per-  
 dinand* of *Norinberg* did charge him, namely, that he  
 held that *Christ* was the seed of *Abraham*. At the first  
 Luther conceived that they jested with him: but  
 when he found that they spoke it sadly, he was for-  
 ced to give credit to their speech, that he was in ve-  
 ry deed so accused.

Pope *Adrian* then opposed the Gospel, and by  
 his Bull, as they call it, very much blamed *Frederik*  
*Electour* of *Saxony* for the neglect of his duty in not  
 punishing or banishing Luther. And then warned  
 and intreated the Prince, that now at length he  
 he would doe it: and if he would not, he should try  
 how keen the Popes and Emperours swords were. The  
 same request *Henry* the eighth King of *England* and  
*Lodowik* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* made. To all  
 these the Elector returned no other answer, then  
 that Luther was first to be heard in the Councel, before he

Luther excu-  
 sing himselfe.  
 Tom. 2. pag.  
 121.

Frederik Duk.  
 of Saxony  
 warned to  
 punish Lu-  
 ther.



was to be condemned. The Popes Legate also accused Luther at the Norician assembly; as being most like to Mahomet. For as the Turkes by Polygamy, so Luther taking away the vowes of Chastity doth loose the reins to all licentiousnesse, and overthrow the state of the Church, and therefore he might be condemned before he was heard: besides, as now he did shew his cruelty against the Ecclesiasticall state, he would afterward doe the like against the Politicall.

The Popes Legate accuseth Luther.

In this yeere Christiern King of Denmark and his wife sister of Charles the fifth were expulsed their Kingdome for his too violent government. And being in banishment at the Court of his Unkle Frederik Elector of Saxony, heard Luther preach.

In the 24. yeere Clement the 7. made Pope in Adrians stead sent Laur. Campegius the Cardinal his Legate to Noriberg. He wrote at large to Frederik the Elector: and highly prayesd the Popes good will, and did undertake that a Councel should be called. Then also Cesar and most of the Princes of the Empire pressed for the decree of Wormes. Which thing when Luther had notice of, he bewayled the state of Germany, and complained of the blindness of men. That yeare Erasmus Roterd. perswaded by the King of England and Thomas Wolsey Cardinal, wrote against Luther. He put forth (against his will, as he wrote to Melancthon) the Treatise concerning free-will. What was Luthers judgement about the same, that which he wrote to Spalatinus sheweth; namely, *It is incredible how I disdain the booke of Erasmus concerning free-will: and yet I have scarce read eight leaves*

Laurent. Campegius the Popes Legate

Erasmus wrote against Luther being much importuned thereunto.

Tom. 2. epist. 230.

leaves thereof. It grieveth me to answer so unlearned a book of a man so learned. That book was answered by Luther, An. 1526. with which delay the mindes of learned men were held in suspence, what would be the issue of the controversie.

This yeere was remarkable for the unhappy Sacramentary controversie; The beginning and proceeding whereof is related in the life of *Carlostade*, *Zwingl.* and *Oecolamp.* and I list not here to renew our griefe by opening the sore again.

About this time came forth the fanaticke writing of *Tho. Muncer* of *Stolberg*, and the Preacher of *Alstedt*: in which he disgorged his venemous fury against the *Lutherans*. The book which he wrote against *Luther*, was dedicated to *Christ Prince of Princes*. He rayled on *Luther*, because he wanted an *Enthusiasticall spirit*, and had nothing in his writing but a carnall spirit. The same *Muncer* wrote to *Melancthon* a letter plainly shewing his fanaticall spirit.

*Luther* now put forth *David's Psalter* in the *German* tongue, & a book against the seditious, and an Epistle to *Frederik* and *Lohn* Princes of *Saxony* against the enemies of images, and *Enthusiasts*, who boasted of illumination and conference with God. He also set forth a booke about the Exaltation of *Benno* a Bishop once of *Misnia*: whose bones were on the sixteen day of *May* digged up at *Misnia*, exalted, and placed in a marble Tombe: which act some took to be religious, other jested and laughed thereat.

This yeere in *October*, *Luther* laid aside his Monkish

*Muncers* writing against *Luther*.

The *Psalmes* put forth, &c.

Of *Benno* Bishop of *Misnia*.

## The Life of Dr. Martin Luther.

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kishhood: and declared his judgement concerning the Synode to be called for determination of the ceremonies, saying thus. *I thinke it not very safe to call together a Councell of our men for the settling an uniformitie of Ceremonies: for it will set a bad example, though it be attempted with a good zeale, as appeareth by all Councels from the beginning. So that in the Apostolicall Synode they did more treat concerning matter of action and Traditions, then of faith. In the Synodes after this they never disputed about faith; but alwayes about opinions and questions, that the name of Councels is more suspected and hated by me then the name of free will. If one Church will not, of its own accord imitate another in externall matters, what need is there to compell them by the decrees of Councels, which presently are changed into lawes and snares to intangle mens soules. Rather let one Church freely follow the good example of another; or let each Church enjoy her owne wayes, so that the unitie of the spirit be kept intire in faith by the word of God; though there be diversitie and outward ceremonies, and elements of the world. About this time the Priests of Wittenberg keeping their Popish rites, were at length evicted, and in the end of the yeere abrogating private Masse, began a Reformation in the Cathedrall Church. Luther had long pressed them to this, and had written thus to Spalatinus in this yeere. By Gods help I will abrogate private Masse, or venture upon another designe.*

The yeere 1525. is famous by the rising of the Boores: when this broyle was a hatching, and the Rustick fury did not yet breake forth into taking up

arnes,

Luther casts away his monkish weed.

Of calling a Councel.

Reformation in the Cathedrall Church at Wittenberg.  
Tom. 2. Ep. p. 246.  
1525.

The Boores rise in armes.

Luther ex-  
horts to quell  
them,

The conten-  
tion with  
Carlostade.

The Ana-  
baptists.

The name of  
Masse.

armes, *Luther* did dissuade all men from sedition, as being a crime of very high nature. He also handled the Articles of the Boores, and shewed how most of them were contrary to the word of God. He wrote also to the Princes and Nobilitie, and put them in minde of their dutie: and by another Treatise exhorted all men, to joyne for the subversion of the theevish insenlaries, as for the quenching of a common fire. This book was censured by some as too sharp, but was at large defended by *Luther*.

In the beginning of this yeere, *Luther* answered *Carlostadius* his books, intitling his book (*Against the Celestiall Prophets.*) At *Wittenberg* then the chieftains of the *Anabaptists* were called Prophets: because they boasted of secret revelations, and propheticall spirits; the principall men were *Muncer*, *Ciconius*, *Cellarius*, and his friend *Carlostad*. *Luther* in the first part of his book speaketh of images, private Masse and *Carlostade*: and affirmeth that images were forbidden in the old Testament not in the new: and that *Carlostade* was not expelled by his meanes: and that the name of [Masse] was given by the Apostles to the Sacrament of the altar. The subject of the second book was the *Eucharist*, where he first dealt against *Carlostades* exposition of the word (*τῶν*) *Thus*: and then answered the Arguments of *Carlostade*: and said that the words (*which is given for you*) have this sense. The body which you ease in the bread, ere long, when it is not eaten shall be given for you. And as it is not written, Take the body and eate it; so neither is it written, Take the bread.

bread and eate it. And that Christs speech, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, is to be taken as spoken not of the flesh of Christ, but of the sense of the flesh, which is death, *Rom. 8. That the breaking the bread, is the distribution of the body: and that the bloud of Christ which is powred out for us, now sitteth at the right hand of God; but that the efficacy of that effusion of his bloud is for ever. And finally that it is unknown how the bread becometh and is the body of Christ: and that we must stick to the very words of Christ.* Against this *Zwingle* and *Oecolampadius* wrote, as is said in its due place.

Now also *Luther* renewed the ordination of Ministers of the Gospel in the Church: Of whom *George Rorarius* was the first: and now first the Masse was celebrated at *Wittenberg* in their mother tongue. And now was set forth a booke of *German songs* composed by *Luther* and others the last yeere: and a book of the abomination of the Masse, in which he galled the Popish fore backtjades, and made many of them kick against him. He wrote also a letter to them of *Strasburg*, where he heard that *Carlostade* abode, and dissuaded them from devouring his poyson. On the contrary *Strasburg* sent *George Caselius* the Hebrew Professor, and entreated *Luther* that he would not break the unitie of the Church for the controversie of the Eucharist: that he would acknowledge *Zwingle* and *Oecolampadius*, learned men and of good fame, for Brethren: that he would write of the Lords Supper, and shew, what he taught was consonant to the truth.

The flesh profiteth nothing.

Ordering of Ministers.

German songs.

*Luther* writeth to *Strasburg* about *Carlostade*.



Luther an-  
swer.

*Luther* returned this answer by *Caselius*. "Name-  
ly, That nothing was more to be desired then  
"peace: but to be tyed to a continuall silence was  
"not safe: that answer could not be made without  
"condemning them: and that the word [condemn]  
"was censured as opprobrious. That he was cen-  
"sured of those most modest men as a Cannibal,  
"and a worshipper of God turned bread and eat-  
"ble: that he liked not the advise of the Divines  
"*Strasburgh*, concerning silence about the question  
"of the bodily presence, and preaching faith and  
"other parts of the word: That either he him-  
"self or they were ministers of Satan: and that  
"therefore in this case there was counsell to be ta-  
"ken, and no mean between both to be followed:  
"That the reasons brought to make the speech  
"tropically were of no force. And that it must be  
"proved, that the verb [*est*] not in other places of  
"Scripture, but here is in effect [*significat*.] that  
"where *Paul* saith, *The rock was Christ*, he speaketh  
"not of the corporall, but the spirituall drink: for  
"he addeth the drank of the spirituall rock. And  
"that there was a manifest mistake in that [*This*  
"*Lambe is the Lords Paschever*.] for this phrase is no  
"where extant in the Scripture: and therefore he  
"besought the brethren for Christs sake, that they  
"would avoyd this error.

Luther marri-  
eth.

*Luther* being fortie two yeers old, of a sudden  
and unexpectedly married *Katherine* a Bora a noble  
virgin late a Nun, and this was the occasion. *Lut-  
her* had a purpose that this *Katherine* should have  
been



been married to *M. Glanus* the Pastor of *Orlamund*. Of this she having intimation, acquainted *Amsdorf*, *Luthers* inward friend, therewith, and by him intreated *Luther* to alter his determination, and to signifie to him, that she would enter into the honourable estate of Matrimony with any other, rather then with *Glanus*. When *Luther* heard this, and what *Ierom Schurfius* had said; namely, *that if that Monk should marry her, the whole world and the devill himself would laugh thereat, and so the Monk should undoe all that formerly he had done*. Here *Luther* to grieve the world of Papists, and the devill, and gratifie her father perswading him thereunto, resolved to marry her. And on the 13. day of *June*, inviting to supper *Pomeranus*, and *Apelles* the Lawyer, and *Luke* the Limmer was betrothed to her, and not long after married her. This *Luthers* enemies much disliked, so did his friends also: not because they thought the marriage unlawfull: but because they wished it had been done at some other time. For thus writeth *Camerarius*. *It fell out, that when these turbulent and dangerous brayles were not yet pacified, Martin Luther married, not long after the death of Frederik the chiefe of the seven Electors of the Empire. Philip Melancthon much grieved at Luthers marriage, not that he condemned it as unlawfull, but because hereby an occasion was given to Luthers enemies and ill willers, who were many, rich, and of great power, to speak against him bitterly, and with open mouth to reproach him: when especially the very time did help forward and set them on, who were minded so to do. And*

*Camerarius in  
the life of  
Melancthon.*

of what power the convenientcy of time is in every action all know full well. But when he perceived that Luther himself was somewhat troubled with the same thoughts, he not onely moderated his passion, but did cheere up Luther, and endeavoured to ease his grieve and sorrow with pleasant conference, and thereby brought him to his wonted cheerefulness again.

What *Luthers* adversaries did about this marriage.

\* Chaplain to *George Duke of Saxony*.

*Luthers* answer to their opprobries.

The cause of *Luthers* marriage.

*Luthers* adversaries not onely observed the time of the marriage, but proclaimed the marriage to be incestuous, in which a Monk married a Nun. Hereupon the King of England in his Answer to *Luther*, stiles this marriage incestuous, and there saith among other opprobries put upon *Luther*, that he could not have committed a sinne of higher nature. *Conradus Collinus* Prior of Cullen and *Ierome Emserus*\* the best Divine among the Papists wrote virulently and disgracefully of this marriage. Yea some there were, (whom *Erasmus* gave credit unto) who laid a sinne to *Luthers* charge, from which the time of his childs birth did acquit him. Against these disgraces *Luther* thus animated himself: saying. If my marriage be a work of God, what wonder is there, if the flesh be offended at it? It is offended even at the flesh which God our Creator took, and gave to be a ransom, and food for the salvation of the world: if the world was not offended with me; I should be offended with the world, and should feare that it was not of God, which I have done. Now seeing the world is vexed and troubled at, I am confirmed in my course and comforted in God. So do you. The cause of his marriage he there also relateth; saying. We resigned the revew of the Monastery

Monastery to the Prince. I who abode in the Monastery so long as it pleased God, now like a private housekeeper. I have not married to prolong my life, but (seeing my dissolution neerer approaching, and people with their Princes to rage against me) that I might leave mine own doctrine for the weaks sake confirmed by mine own example; for my doctrine may perchance be kicked against and trodden on after my death.

This yeere the Anabaptists spread themselves over Helvetia and other parts of Germany: and began to broach their fancies at Anwerp. Hereupon Luther by an Epistle warned them of Anwerp to take heed of the erroneous spirit, which had hindred him very much: and recited the impostures of false spirits in Popery, and the by-pathes of the seducing spirits of the present times. There he set downe the erroneous Articles of a tumultuous spirit at Anwerp and opened the inconstancy, lying, boldnesse, and ambitious desire of honour lurking in that Spirit: and entreateth them to forbear the question concerning Gods hidden will, and to attend to, and learn the necessary precepts set before us by our God. The Articles were these.

1. That every man hath the Spirit.
2. That the Spirit was nothing else but our reason and understanding.
3. That every man beleeveth.
4. That there were no (inferi) or place of torments for mens soules, but that the body onely was condemned.
5. That every soule should be saved.
6. That by the law of nature we are taught to do good

Anabaptists at Anwerp.

Luther writeth to Anwerp.

The Articles of the Anabaptists.

to our neighbour; as we would he should doe to us: and that this will in us was faith.

7. That we sinne not against the law by desiring any thing if our will consent not to our desire and lust.

8. That he which hath not the Spirit, hath not sin, because he wanteth reason, which they called the Holy Ghost.

Now also Luther wrote to the King of England by the perswasion of *Christiern* the banished King of Denmark. This Epistle was submissive, and is extant in his Epistles. He wrote also humbly to *George Duke of Saxony*: that he would be pleased to afford him his favourable respect. But the King returned him an harsh answer, and objected to him his levity and inconstancy: and defended *Cardinal Wolsey* against *Luthers* writing to him: that hence it appeared, how he hated *Luther*. When *Luther* saw the Kings answer printed, he was very much grieved at what he had done, and that he had so much yeelded to his friends, as to write in so humble a strain. The like befell him upon his writing to *Cajetan*, *George Duke of Saxony* and *Erasmus Rotterod.* who by *Luthers* lenity were incensed rather then pacified. He resolved never afterward to run into the like errour. *Cocleus* and *Eckius* wonderfully also insulted over *Luthers* submissivenesse. Wherefore *Luther* now printed a booke against (as he called it) the ill language and contumelious booke of the King of England.

In the year 1526. *Luther* refused *Erasmus* book, intituled *de servo Arbitrio*. The delaying of his answer

Tom. 1. Ep.  
290.  
*Luther* writ-  
teth to the  
King of Eng-  
land, &c.

An. 1526.

# The Life of Dr. Martin Luther.

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swer proceeded from the cause certified to \* Am-  
dorf: in these words. *I will not answer Erasmus till I  
have done with Carlostade, who makes great troubles  
and stirres in upper Germany. Erasmus provoketh  
thereby, put forth his Hyperaspides, of which book  
Luther thus writeth. Erasmus that viper being ren-  
zed up will write against me again: what eloquence will  
that most vain hunter after glory exercise to cast down  
Luther?* About the same time Duke George and the  
Bishops attempted many wayes to wrong Luther, as  
appeareth by his letter to Myconius: laying. *The  
wicked Papists conspire, and, as Melanctheus writeth  
to me from Iena threaten warre against me. Wherefore  
see you, that the people admonished hercof, manfully con-  
tend by faithfull and continuall prayer to the Lord, that  
they may be overcome and withheld by the Spirit, and  
constrained to keepe outward peace. Verily I understand  
by the writings and speeches of many, that there is very  
great need of earnest prayer: for Satans plots are a  
working. Wherefore I intreat you, that you would per-  
swade the people to this most necessary and prevalent  
work, because they are endangered and exposed to Satans  
sword and fury encompassing them. He further saith,  
That the Sectaries were divided into fixe Sects.  
Sixe heads in one yeere are sprung up among the Sacra-  
mentarians: six a strange spirit, which so much differs  
from its selfe. One sect followed Carlostade, that is  
fallen: a second is that of Zwinglius, which is falling:  
the third is with Oecolampadius which will fall: the  
fourth also which is Carlostade is fallen: he thus  
disposeth of the words. That which is given for you, is*

\* Tcm. 2. ep.  
370.

Erasm. his  
Hyperasp.

Tom. 2. epist.  
314.

Epist. pag.  
314.

Sixe Sects of  
the Sacra-  
mentarians.



my body. The fifth is now arising in Silesia, set forth by Valentine Crantwald and Caspar Schwenkfeld, who thus invert the words. My body which is given for you, is this, that is, spirituall meat. These grievously vex and molest us with their writings, for they are most obstreperous and full of words, I wish they had my disease of the Stone, they seeme so strong to undergo it. The sixth is that of Peter Florus at Cullen, which Melancthon will deale with: I never saw ought but one letter about it. O how he reprohates Luther. I know saith he, that Luther is forsaken of the Lord. All these Spirits differing each from other contend with subtile arguments, all of them boast of revelations obtained by prayer and tears, and agree onely in this, that all of them fight each with other for us. This Christ effecteth for us.

Luther wrote a consolatory letter to John Hesse of Breslaw a Teacher of the Gospel, notwithstanding the scandall raised by the Heretiks, and their fighting against the Articles of our Faith: and in speciall manner he animated him against Schwenkfeld and Crantwald, saying, "You speak the Truth, friend Hesse. Hitherto the combate was about points not grounded in the Scriptures, as about the Pope and Purgatory, and the like: Now ye come to more serious matters, and to the battell already won concerning points in the Scripture. Here we shall see the Dragon fighting, or rather we shall combat with him, Michael being our Captain in these Heavenly fights. When the Dragon shall pull down the third part of the stars with his tayle to the earth: then the cause will call for  
"our

Luthers speech  
of comfort to  
Hesse.



"our strength in Christ. Here you shall see, what  
"manner a warrior, and how strong a champion  
"Satan is, whom yet you have not sufficiently tri-  
"ed, or had experience of. *Schwankfeld* and *Cran-*  
"wald, which I much lament, are reserved for these  
"mischiefs. But the foundation of God standeth  
"firme, having this seale. The Lord knoweth who  
"are his, let this be our comfort, and in this let us  
"be confident to prevaile over the gates of Hell.

Besides other studies of *Luther*, he now expoun-  
ded *Ecclesiastes*: which was not easie and plain (as he  
said) for an Interpreters labour. *There* are, saith he,  
*therein many Hebraisines and obstacles in that tongue,*  
*not yet well made known. Yet by the grace of God I break*  
*thorow them.* This yeere he wrote a forme of the  
Masse in the German tongue: in which he permit-  
ted some ceremonies, to be used or not used at  
mens pleasure. Among other speeches thus he  
saith, *I of me retain those garments, altars, water-*  
*candles used in the Masse, till they grow old, or as it*  
*seemeth good to change them. If it please any man, send*  
*otherwise, I permit him to do as he liketh best.* And in  
the same Masse among Christians unmixt with Popists,  
it is fit that the altar should not remain, but that the Min-  
ister should turn himself to the people: as Christ doubt-  
lesse did, at the first celebration of the Lords Supper. But  
let this also wait its due time. He wrote also foure  
consolatory Psalmes to *Mary Queen of Hungary,*  
upon the miserable death of her husband King *Lio-*  
*dowick*, who was drowned. He then also divulged  
other Treatises, which are mentioned in his works.

Tom. 2. epist.  
318.

The forme of  
the German  
Masse.

His work at  
Jen.

Tom. 3. p.

277. 171. 124. W

277. 171. 124. W

277. 171. 124. W

277. 171. 124. W

277. 171. 124. W

277. 171. 124. W

An. 1527.  
The Ana-  
baptists.

Of the mili-  
tary life.

Tom. 2. epist.  
p. 331.

What strange  
portent was  
before his  
death. See  
Tom. 2. epist.  
pag. 337.

In the 27. yeere the *Anabaptists* broached their new doctrine, about the not baptizing of Infants, and were themselves rebaptised: they also taught communie of goods. Both *Luther* and *Zwinglius* wrote against them; and the Magistrates punished them in divers places. *Luther* wrote also upon the question, whether souldiers lived in a kinde of life, tending to happinesse? In which discourse he learnedly and godly handled many things concerning warre, and its discipline. He dealt also against the Sacramentarians, as he calleth them, and in his book averreth that Christs word; *This is my body*, yet stand firme. Of the book thus *Luther* writeth to *Spalatinus*. I doubt not, but that I have thoroughly moved the Sacramentarians: for though my book be full of words, and not so learned, yet I am perswaded that I have touched them to the quick. *Bucer* hath written most virulent letters against me unto our *Jonas*; already they make a Satan of *Luther*: what suppose you that they will do when they be gauled with that book. But *Christ* liveth and reigneth. Amen. He also comforted them of *Hall*, for the death of *George Winkler* their Pastor, who was slain by conspiracy. He also answered *Iohn Hessus* to the question: Whether a Christian man may flie in time of Pestilence? and to an other question, namely. Whether after the truth of the Gospel is made known, a man may for feare of the tyrants forbear to administer the Lords Supper in both kinds: which *Luther* denyed against the *Prischnists*.

About the beginning of the yeere 27. *Luther* fell sudden-

suddenly: sicke of a congealing of bloud about his heart, which almost kil'd him: but the drinking of the water of *Carduus Benedictus*, whose vertue then was not so commonly knowne, he was presently helped. But he wraſtled with a farre worse agony afterward on the Sabbath after the visitation of the blessed Virgin. This is recorded by *Iohn Bugenhagen*, and *Iustus Ionas*, who saw his affliction. Here he indured not onely a corporall malady, but also a spirituall tentation, which Luther called a *buffeting of Satan*. It seemed to him, that swelling surges of the sea in a tempest did sound aloud at his left eare, and against the left side of his head: yet not within, but without his head, and that so violently, that did he must except they presently grew calme. Afterward when it seemed to come within his head, he fell downe as one dead: and was so cold in each part of his body, that he had remaining neither heat, nor bloud, nor sence, nor voyce. But when his face was besprinkled with cold water by *Jonas* (for so Luth. had bidden) he came again to himself: and began to pray most earnestly, and to make a confession of his faith, & to say, that he was unworthy of Martirdom, which by his proceedings he might seemed to run upon. His will and Testament concerning his wife with child and his young sonne this he made. Lord God I thank thee that thou wouldest have me live a poore and indigent person upon Earth, I have neither house, nor lands, nor possessions, nor money to leave. Thou hast given me wife and children, them I give back unto thee: Nourish, teach, keep them (O thou the father of orphans and Iudge of the widow) as thou hast done to mee: so do unto

Luther sick-  
nelle. 1527.

A worse sick-  
nelle after-  
ward.

Luthers last  
Will.

Luthers reco-  
very.

unto them. But by using daily prayers and continuall fomentations, after that he had sweat thoroughly, the griefe by degrees decreased, so that in the evening of that day, he rose up and supped with his friends: and confessed that his spirituall temptation was farre forer then his corporall sicknesse. Hereupon the day following he sayd to Iustus Ionas. *I will take speciall notice of the day last past: in which as in a schoole, I was put to the tryall of my progresse. And sate in a most hot sweating house. The Lord bringeth to the graves mounth and fetcheth back againe.* He often makes mention of this temptation in his letters to his friends; and confirmed the faith by receiving absolution from a Minister, and the use of the Sacrament.

Leon Keisar  
burnt for  
Religion.

Tom. 2. pag.  
354. b.

This yeere also he put forth the Story of Leonard Keisar his friend, who was burnt for the Gospels sake, at the Command of William Duke of Bavaria. Of this mans Martyrdome thus Luther writes. *I have received the relation concerning Leonard Keisars death: as also all his manuscripts from his Uncles son: which shall shortly be published, God willing. Pray for me, who have been much distressed by the Angel of Satan; that Christ should not forsake me. O wretch that I am! and so much inferiour to Leonard: I am a preacher onely in wordes, in regard of him, so powerfull a preacher by his suffering. Who can make me fit, that not by his spirit double on me; but by one halfe of it, I may overcome Satan, & put a period to this life. Blessed be God, who among so many monsters hath shewed us unworthy sinners this one glorious spectacle of his grace, that he may not seeme wholly so have forsaken us.* Then

Then also by the advise of Luther and the Command of John the Elector was ordained a visitation of the Churches in Saxony. The chiefe care of this businesse was committed to John a Plannitz a noble Knight, to Ierom Schurfius a Lawyer, Asmus Hanbicus and Atlancthon. Many matters were hereby discried, which needed speedy redresse: many faults were found, which must necessarily be amended: nor can I easily say: how great was the benefit of this visitation. For faults of many yeeres continuance, were reformed, the Churches salne backe were in many places confirmed, and their safety for time to come was well provided for. This visitation ended An. 1528 in which yeere Luther put forth the Institution of Visitors, and the large Confession concerning the Lords Supper, which were added for their direction. There it is that Luther thus writeth to Amstdorf. We are wisers, than is Bishops, and we find poverty and scarcity every where. The Lord send forth workmen into his harvest. Amen. And in another place to Spalatinus. Our visitation goeth on, of what miseries are we eye witnesses? and how often doe we remember you, when we find the like or greater miseries in that harsh natured people of Voeytland. Let us beseech God to be present with us, and that he would promote the work of his good Bishops: who is our best and most faithfull Bishop against all the Arts and forces of Satan. Amen. And again. In our visitation in the territories of Wittenberg, we find as yet all pastors greeting with their people, but the people not so forward for the Word and Sacrament.

An. 1527.  
1528.

\* Tom. 1. ep.  
p. 394.

Ibid. p. 394.

The



Answer to  
Zwinglius and  
Oecolampadius.

Bucers Dia-  
logue

Carlostade E-  
pistle to Pon-  
tanius.

Luthers an-  
swer.

\* Tom. 4.  
Ep. lcn.

An. 1529.  
The greater  
and lesse Ca-  
techisme.

Luthers booke  
against the  
Turk.

The 1. part of the book, called *The Great Confession of the faith concerning the Lords supper*, dealeth with *Zwinglius*, the 2. part with *Oecolampadius*, and blameth both of them. To this *Oecolampadius* and *Zwinglius* replied at large: and dedicated their books to the *Prince of Saxony* and *Landgrave of Hesse*. *Bucer* also in the German tongue answered *Luther* in a Dialogue where he maketh *Sebastianus* and *Arbogastus* speakers. These are the last books, which these men wrote against *Luther*.

This yeer also *Carlostadius* wrote a letter to *George Pontanius* Chancellour of the Duke of Saxony, in which he layeth down the ground-work of his Tenents concerning the Lords supper. This was answered by *Luthers* Epistle to the same *Pontanius*: *Luther* therein admonisheth that care must be taken, that no blemish be layd upon the Electour, by whose connivence *Carlostade* doth there divulge his own dreams and heresies. *Luther* also \* wrote to *Carlostadius*, and confuted his Arguments: and in the end of his letter graunteth, that *Christ alone* doth give his body: but denieth that thence it followeth that the Minister doth not give it by the Lords command.

In the beginning of the yeere 1529. *Luther* put forth his greater and lesser *Catechismes* for the good of the under sort of people, and admonished the Pastors and Ministers that they would seriously attend their offices, and teach carefully in the Villages. That they would preach still the same things about the same points and often presse them upon the people. Here also *Luther* put forth a book against the Turk.

Turk in the *German* tongue: this he did partly because it was then reported that the Turk was coming upon *Hungary* and *Germany*, which appeared true by his besieging of *Vienna*: partly because some Pastors endeavoured to perswade the people, *that warre was not to be waged against the Turk*. Yea some proceeded to that height of folly, *that they desired that the Turk would come, and lay his yoke upon them*. And when at that time there was held an Assembly at *Spire*, where first arose the Name of Protestants, and Luthers assistants, whose helpe he used in translating the Prophets, were seperated he himselfe being sickly, that he might be in some imployment in *Melancthon*s absense, translated the booke of *Wisdom*e which was afterward revised by *Melancthon* and printed.

In *October* this yeere *Philip Landgrave of Hessen*, with a pious intent called together the Prime Doctors of the *Saxon* and *Helvetick* Churches. Among whom *Luther* beeing sent for returned this answer: *That little good was to be hoped for by that conference: except the adverse part came thither to yeeld: and that himselfe could not yeeld: because he was assured that he was in the truth*. In this meeting the chiefe heads of Divinity were handled, and concluded of. No one point was with choler contended about: nor did they depart alienated or divided in their affections by any controversie: as elsewhere \* is shewed.

In the last yeere a fame was spread of a league made by some Popish Princes against the Duke of *Saxonia* and *Landgrave of Hessen*: Of this thus *Luther*

The assembly at *Spire*.

The name of Protestants.

Conference at *Marpurg*.

*Luther* called. Tom. 4. l. 1. p. 46.

\* The life of *Oecolampadius* and others.

Tom. 2. Ep.  
p. 386.  
Fame of the  
Popish Prin-  
ces league.  
*Luthers* letter  
about it.

\**George Duke*  
of Saxonic.

The letter  
intercepted.

*ther* writeth to *Wenceslaus Lincus*. " That ungodly  
" league of wicked Princes, though they deny it,  
" what stirres hath it caused : but I do interpret the  
" sleight and poore excuse of Duke *George*, as a con-  
" fession of the fact. But let them deny, excuse, dis-  
" semble it : I know, that that league was not a  
" *Chimera* or a thing of no being : a Monster can-  
" not be but monstrous and conspicuous enough.  
" And the world knoweth well, that they with most  
" pertinacious mindes, deeds, edicts, designs,  
" have hitherto publicquely attempted, and still do  
" attempt the like. For they desire that the Gospel  
" was abolished : this none can deny. But why  
" write I thus to you ? who know this to be un-  
" doubtedly true. I doe it onely, that you may  
" know, that we will not trust that wicked crew,  
" though we offer them peace. The Lord con-  
" found the Counsels of that \* *Marotales* *Marces*  
" bundle of folly, who like *Mab* dares attempt  
" more then he can effect : and as ever, so still is  
" proud above his power. Let us pray against such  
" men-slayers. Hitherto they have been forborn,  
" if again they plot any thing, first we will pray to  
" God, then we will admonish Princes of them,  
" that they may be destroyed without pittie : see-  
" ing they be unsatiable bloud-suckers and cannot  
" be at rest, unlesse they see *Germany* weltring in  
" her bloud. This letter intercepted and brought  
" to Duke *George* gave occasion of a great disaffection  
" between the Duke and *Luther* : as the letters  
" written from each of them to the other fully mani-  
" fest.

fest. For *Luther* printed a *treatise of letters privately sent and intercepted*: and on the other side *George* the Duke printed a preface to the Translation of the New Testament set forth by *Emser*: This preface was full fraught with gall. *Luther* thus saith of it. "I have received your letter, friend *Venceslaus*,  
"by which you certifie me, what Duke *George* hath  
"adventured to doe. He required the same of me  
"not long agoe, and afterward of our Duke:  
"when he could not prevayle: he hath printed the  
"coppie of it with an invective against me: such is  
"his notorious folly, rayling fury. They say that  
"there are 8000. books printed: which he trans-  
"ports into all coasts under his owne seale. Thus  
"shall poore *Luther* at length be kept down, and  
"Duke *George* shall triumph most gloriously. To  
"the Mart he will send them. After I by some pri-  
"vate means had got a coppie thereof, I wrote an  
"answere thereunto, which shall be divulged at  
"once with his writing contrary to his expectation.  
"Perhaps he will burst with rage, and die like a mi-  
"serable idiot. I could wish that theevish *Mericion*  
"had taken it in mine owne hand: I am so farre  
"from fearing that Satan: though I wonder at  
"*Scheurferus*, that not delivered my letter up to  
"them, but that he is so familiar with my bitterest  
"enemies. I intreat you that with your congrega-  
"tion you would pray against that furious home-  
"cide and bloody ruffian, as a man possessed by  
"more then one Devil, and breathing out nothing  
"but menaces and slaughter: that it would please

Ep. Tom. 3.  
P. 389.

New Broiles  
thereupon.

"Christ to save him, as he did Saint *Paul*; or con-  
 "found him. For why should this unquiet and mis-  
 "cheivous vassall of Satan be offensive to heaven  
 "and earth?"

An. 1530.  
 The assembly  
 at *Augst*. and  
 conformitie  
 of Protest.

\* Tom. 1. Jer.  
 Germ. Chur. B.  
 13. Sax.  
 Sleid. b. 2.  
 Luther wrote  
 the seventeen  
 Articles.

Luthers Arti-  
 cles followed  
 by Melanct.

Job. Elector of  
 Saxony came  
 first to *Augst*.

The remembrance of the thirtieth yeere will never be razed out, while men live on earth: for in this yeere was held that solempne and numerous assembly before the Emperour and the States of the Empire, which was printed and made known to all the nations of Europe. Read the Story\* elsewhere. We return to *Luther*. He composed the *seventeen Articles*, before the Divines of *Saxony* took their journey to *Augsta*: In these Articles he omitted scholastick disputes and points unnecessary for the peoples instruction, and comprised the summe of holesome and necessary doctrine for the salvation of mens soules and true pietie. Other Princes and Cities, who embraced the doctrine of *Luther*, commanded their Divines to set down in writing a brieve declaration of the doctrine commonly taught in the Churches of their territories. That these seventeen Articles written by *Luther*, were especially made use of by *Melancthon* in writing the *Confession*, the very words and phrases in most of the Articles retained, and the order and methode of the Articles much alike, and the Epistle of *Iohn* Elector of *Saxony* dated from *Augsta* to *Luther* before *Casars* coming, do witnesse. For *Iohn* Elector of *Saxony* came to *Ausburg* contrary to the opinion and expectation of all men; yea he came thither first of all the Princes, accompanied with *Iohn Fre-derik*



derik his sonne, Francis Duke of Lunenburg his sisters sonne, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt his wives brother, and these divines, Ionas, Philip, Spalatinius, and Iſlebius. For when he went from Coburg he left Luther in the Castle, because he was banished by the Pope and Emperour, and was extreemly hated by the Pontificians: yet would that he should remain in that place neere at hand, that more easily and speedily he might be consulted with, for any matter pertaining to Religion.

Luther abode at Coburg.

Luther that he might further the common good, though he was absent, wrote a book to the Bishops and other Divines of note in that assembly: in which he deciphered, fully, what was the state of the Romane Church under the Popedome, and opened their cruelty, and exhorted them, that they would not now omit the occasion of curing this sore. He further shewed that the doctrine taught by himself was agreeable to that of the Prophets & Apostles, & that all designs undertaken against God would be frustrate. Melanct. knowing the rage of the Papists & Caesars threats was very solicitous & troubled thereat, not so much for his own, as for the issue of these matters and posterities sake: and gave himself almost wholly up to griefe, sighes and teares. Luther having notice hereof did often cheere him up and comfort him by his letters. These words are part of one of his epistles. "In private conflicts I am somewhat weake, and you strong: and on the contrary you in publique conflicts are somewhat weake, I stronger. If I may

Melanct. care in this assembly.

In his book written, An. 1529.

"call that a private conflict, which is between me  
 "and Satan, for you are ready to die, if you were  
 "called to it, but feare the disaster of the publique  
 "cause. But I am resolute and secure for the pub-  
 "lique cause, because I am assured that it is just and  
 "true, that it is Gods and Christs; and is not appa-  
 "led with the guilt of sinne, as I a private servant  
 "of God am compelled to trembling and pale-  
 "nesse. For this cause like a secure spectator, and  
 "do not regard the menaces and crueltie of the  
 "Papists. If we fall, Christ the Lord and ruler of  
 "the world falleth with us. And suppose he fall, I  
 "had rather fall with Christ, then stand with *Cæsar*.  
 "Nor do you alone strive to hold up Gods cause, I  
 "constantly stand to you with my sighes & prayers,  
 "I wish I might also with my bodily presence. For  
 "the cause is mine; rather I say mine then all yours:  
 "and attempted by me not out of any rash humour,  
 "or desire either of glory or gain: which thing the  
 "Spirit witnesseth to my conscience: and the mat-  
 "ter it self hath already plainly shewed, and will  
 "more and more shew it even to the end. Where-  
 "fore I entreat you for Christs sake not to forget  
 "Gods promises and the divine comforts, where  
 "'tis said. *Cast thy care upon the Lord: have thine*  
*eyes fixt on the Lord, play the man, let thine heart be*  
*comforted.* "The booke of the *Psalmes* and the  
 "Gospels are full of the like speeches. *Be of good*  
*comfort I have overcome the world.* "If Christ be the  
 "Conquerour of the world, why should we feare  
 "it, as if it would overcome us. A man could finde  
 in

Psal. 55.

Psal. 27.

Joh. 16.

"in his heart to fetch such a sentence upon his  
 "knees from Rome, or Jerusalem. And in the same  
 "Epistle, you would determine of these businesses  
 "according to your Philosophy by reason, that is,  
 "*cum ratione insanire*, run wild with humane over-  
 "care: and kill your self: nor do ye see that this  
 "matter is beyond your reach and providence:  
 "and I pray Christ to keep it, that it come not into  
 "your hand and counsell, which is a thing vehe-  
 "mentely desired by you. For then publikely and  
 "apparantly, and suddenly we shall perish. And in  
 "another Epistle. Grace and peace in Christ. In  
 "Christ I say, not in the world; Amen. Concern-  
 "ing your apologie for your silence, I will speake  
 "elsewhere. I extreamely dislike your excessive  
 "cares with which you say you are consumed. That  
 "these raignes so much in your heart, is not from  
 "the greariness of the cause, but the greatnesse of  
 "your incredulitie. For there was greater cause of  
 "this in *Iohn Hus* his time then in ours. Then again  
 "suppose there be great cause, the Agent and chief  
 "mover in it is of great power; for it is not our  
 "cause. Why then do you continually and without  
 "ceasing macerate your self? If the cause be fault-  
 "tie, let us revoke it; and flie back; if it be good:  
 "why do we make God a lyer? who hath made us  
 "so great promises, and bids us to be of a quiet  
 "and contented mindes: saying, *Cast thy care upon*  
*the Lord. The Lord is neere unto all them, who being of*  
*a troubled heart call upon him.* "Speaketh God these  
 "things into the wind, or casts he these pearles to  
 bruits?

"bruits? I am often troubled, but not perpetually.  
 "Your Philosophy and not your Divinity doth  
 "thus vex you; the same befallerh your *Ioachim*.  
 "As if it were possible that you should effect any  
 "thing with this unprofitable care. I pray you, tell  
 "me, what can the Divell doe more then kill us?  
 "I beseech you, that seeing in all other matters  
 "you are a good souldier, you would wraastle with  
 "your selfe as being your owne greatest enemy,  
 "by providing such store of Armour for Satan a-  
 "gainst your selfe. Christ once died for sin: but  
 "for Justice and truth he shall not die, but live and  
 "raigne. If this be true, what feare is there for  
 "the truth, if he raigne? But it will be cast  
 "downe by the wrath of God, let us be cast  
 "downe with it; but let it not bee done by  
 "our selves. He who is become our father, will  
 "be the father of our children. I pray for you ear-  
 "nestly, and I grieve that you make my prayers,  
 "the most violent sucking-leech of cares, to be  
 "fruitlesse. Truly as concerning the cause (whe-  
 "ther it proceed from stupidity in me or from the  
 "Spirit, Christ knoweth) I am not troubled much;  
 "yea I have a better hope, then ever I expected:  
 "God is able to raise the dead: He is powerfull al-  
 "so to maintaine his owne cause now ready to fall;  
 "yea to raise it againe, were it fallen, and to ad-  
 "vance it, if it subsist: If we be not worthy, let it  
 "be done by others. For if we be not sustained by  
 "his promises, who, I pray you are there in the  
 "world, to whom they doe belong? But more an-  
 "other

“nothertime: so that it be not to carry water into  
 “the Sea. Christ with his spirit comfort, teach and  
 “strengthen us all. Amen. If I perceive that the  
 “cause goeth not well with you, or be indangered,  
 “I shall not containe my selfe, but shall come with  
 “speed unto you, that I may see the gastly Jawes  
 “of Satans teeth, as the Scripture calleth them.  
 From our wildernesse. *Jan. 25 An. 1530.*

After this the Confession written by Melancthon according to *Luthers* direction and advise, was exhibited in the *Latine* and *German* tongues in *Casars* palace, *Jan. 25.* at 2. a clock in the afternoone: and was read by the Chancellor of *Saxony* before *Charles* the fifth, *Ferdinando* and all the Electors & Princes being assessors, & that with so shrill & loud a voice, that not onely in that large hall, but also in the Court beneath and in the places adjoyning it was well heard. They who subscribed to this Confession were *John* Duke of *Saxony*, *George* Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, *Ernest* and *Francis* brothers, Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh*; *Philip* Landgrave of *Hassia*, *Wolfgang* Prince of *Anhalt*; and two Cities of the Empire, *Norimberg* and *Reutling*. After it was read, the Princes judgement was threefold. First, Some thought fit that the Decree of *Wormes* should be pressed, and the refractary compelled to it. Secondly, Others would have had the Confession examined by learned and pious men, and then to be delivered to *Cesar*. Thirdly, Some desired that the Papists should exhibite a confutation of it to the Protestants: and that the whole cause should be

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left

*Luthers* desire to come to the Assembly. *Apost. 9. 8.*

The Protestants Confession.

Who subscribed to it.



It was commanded the Papist to confute it if they could.

Melancthon & Luthers letter each to other.

Luthers Exhortation,

Luther writeth to Albertus Cardinal.

left to *Cæsars* judgement : To this last most of the Princes agreed. Thereupon the Pontifician Divines ( of whom *Iohn Faber* and *Eckius* were chief ) were enjoyned to prepare their confutation. They wrote many things bitterly against the Protestants, and rather multiplied revilings then arguments. When therefore they were bid to new mould their writings, the publication of the Pontifician refutation was deferred seven weekes from the exhibiting of the Confession.

In the mean space *Luther* and *Melancthon* conferred by their letters concerning many points controverted, and discussed, what might with a good conscience be yeilded to their adversaries, especially concerning humane traditions, and matters devised by men in Gods worship. *Luther* also by many Epistles gravely written, and by exhortations full of spirit and life ( which are indeed the treasures of all wholesome and powerfull comfort ) confirmed the hearts of the Prince *Electör*, and of *Pontanus* his Chancellour, and their Collegues in the prosecution of their attempts for the common safety and peace of the Church and State, and posterity, and for curing the apparent wounds thereof, & preventing the distractions of the Church, & the confusion of Opinions. He sent also to *Albertus* of *Mentz*, the Cardinal in the time of the Assemblies sitting, a printed Epistle. He was a man of chiefe authority amongst the rest, wherefore *Luther* endeavoured to perswade him, that seeing there was small hope to settle a concord in religion, he would obtaine

obtaine of the *Emperour* at least a graunt of Politicall peace. At the same time *Erasmus* wrote a letter of the same argument to *Campegius*.

At length the *Refutation of the Protestants Confession* was new dressed and refined, and on the third day of *August*, was in *Cæsars* Palace publickly read before the States of the Empire. The *Emperour* professed that he would persist in his opinion, and requested the *Duke of Saxony*, and such as joynd with him, to give an assent. But, when as they could hardly obtain a copie of the confutation, and that with these conditions, that it should not be published, nor transcribed, nor any reply made thereunto, and could not prevaile to have these conditions omitted, the *Archbishop of Mentz*, and his brother the *Marquess of Brandenburg*, and *Henry of Brunswick*, requested of the *Emperour* that he would give them leave to take a friendly course for the composing the controversie. When *Cæsar* had yeelded thereunto, there were of each partie, seven at first, and then secondly, three chosen out of each seven, who were to take a course for settling of concord. Here when the *Saxons* partie seemed to yeeld too farre to the *Pontifician*, *Luther* wrote thus to *Melancthon*. Concerning obedience to be performed to the *Bishops*, as in jurisdiction and the common ceremonies, I pray you have care, look to your self, and give us more then you have, lest ye should be compelled again to a sharper and more dangerous warre for the defence of the *Gospel*. I know what you always except the *Gospel* in these Articles, but I fear, lest afterwards they should ac-

The refutation of the Confession, read.

The copie of it hard to be got.

Arbiters of the cause.

*Luthers* admonition to *Melancthon*.

cuse us of breach of our covenant, and unconstancy, if we observe not what they please. For they will take our graunts in the large, larger, largest sense: and hold their own strictly, more strictly, and as strictly as they can. In brieft, I wholly dislike this agitation for concord in doct<sup>r</sup>in, as being a thing utterly impossible, unlesse the Pope will abolish his Popedome. Concerning the Confutation, this should have been added, that it was a very cold one. Of it thus Luther wrote to Melancthon. Grace and peace in Christ the Lord over his enemies. I thanke God, who permitted our Adversaries to devise so fond a confutation. Christ is come and reigneth. Let the devils, if they will, turn Monks and Nunn<sup>s</sup>: Nor doth any shape better become them, then that in which they have hitherto set forth themselves to be adored by the world. --- Then a little after this: Did not I foretell you, that you troubled yourself in vain about traditions, because that point exceedeth very much the capacittie of Sophisters? There hath ever been disputation about laws amongst the wisest men: and truly it requi<sup>r</sup>eth an Apostolicall abilitie to judge purely and surely thereof, for there is no Author extant, except Paul alone, who hath written fully and perfectly of this matter. Because it is the death of all humane reason to judge the law: the spirit in this case being the onely Judge. What then can Sophisters here performe, whose reason is blinded? Well, we have done our part, and well satisfied them. Now is the time of working together with the Lord, whom I beseech to direct and preserve us. Amen.

In that loving course for composing the differences by the Arbitratours, when the point of invocation

vocation of Saints was handled, and *Eckius* produced *Jacobs* speech, Let my name be called upon those children: *Melancthon* first answered, and then *Brennius* said, that there was nothing extant in all the Scripture of the invocation of Saints. Hereupon *Coclaus*, that he might step in as patrone to the Cause, did thus excuse the matter. That in the old Testament the Saints of God were not prayed unto: because they were then in Limbo, and not in Heaven. Here *John Duke of Saxony* concluded and said to *Eckius*. Behold O *Eckius*, the speech by you brought out of the old Testament notoriously defended. The Confession of our partie, which *Cæsar*, *Ferdinandus* his brother, the Princes of *Bavaria*, and some Bishops attentively listened unto, and the other partie could not endure, was translated into *Italian* (for the Pope, who was not very well skilled in *Latine*) and into the *English*, *Spanish*, *French*, *Boemian*, *Ungarian* tongues.

The issue of all came to this, that though the Protestants did desire peace of *Cæsar*, and space farther to deliberate of the matter, they could not obtain their desire. The Confession it self was rejected, and all who assented to it, unlesse they suffered all matters to run in their old Tenour, were brought into hazard of their lives and States: there were some also appointed to execute *Cæsars* decree. Whereas therefore it was daily expected, that the Protestants should be warred against by the Pontificians: *Luther* soon after the Assembly with a noble and Heroik spirit set forth a book to the *German*, whose title was *Warming an seine liebe deutschen*. Wherein he ex-

The Confession of the Protestants, translated into divers tongues.

The issue of matters in this assembly.

\* *Luthers* admonition ad *German*.

horted them to embrace peace, and shewed that they ought not to obey a wicked Edict, and further by armes the persecution of the true doctrine of the Gospel, and harmelesse Princes and Churches: and fight for Idols and other abominations of the Papists. Yet he did not counsell the Protestant side to take up armes, before the Pontifician faction should in the Emperours name invade them with warre: But if they should resist, and defend themselves with force of Armes when they were set upon, he excused them from being traduced and condemned as seditious persons: and shewed that they must be conceived to stand anely upon their own and their peoples defence.

Luther studies  
in the wil-  
dernesse at  
Coburg.

Before we leave the wilderness of Coburg, and come thence with Luther, observe first, what books he there wrote; Besides some mentioned before, of the rest he thus writeth to Melancthon. *Though I have been troubled with wearinesse of the soule, and head ache, and have laid aside Ezekiel, yet do I in the meane time translate the small Prophets: and in one week more, I hope, shall finish them, by Gods help. For now onely Haggai and Malachi remain undone. I busie myself herein rather for the comfort I reap by them, then that I am able to undergo the pains. Secondly know the fervency of his prayers in this wilderness: of which Vitus Theodorus, who accompanied him at Coburg, thus wrote to Melancthon. No day passeth, in which Luther spendeth not three houres at the least, and they are the houres most fit for studie, in Prayer. Once is so fell out, that I heard him praying. Good God! what a spirit, what a confidence was in his*  
very

Luthers ardent  
prayers.



very expressions & with such reverence he sueth for any thing, as one begging of God; and yet with such hope and assurance, as if he spake with a loving father or friend. I know, saith he, that thou art a father and our God: I know therefore assuredly, that thou wilt destroy the persecutors of thy children. If so be thou please not so to doe, thy danger will be joynd with ours: this businesso is wholly thine: we adventured not on it, but were compelled therunto. Wherefore thou wilt defend us. When I heard him praying in this manner with a cleare voyce as I stood a farre off, my mind also was inflamed with a singular kind of ardency: because I observed how passionately, how gravely, how reverently, he in his prayer spake of God, and urged Gods promises out of the Psalmes, as one assured, that what he asked, should come to passe. I doubt not therefore, but that his prayers will much advance and further the desperate cause treated of at the Assembly. When in that assembly the chiefe and almost the sole diffention between Luther and the Protestants was about the Lords supper: this liked the Papists, but grieved the Potestants. Bucer therefore by the consent of the Duke of Saxony and his Magistrates consent, went from *Ausburg* to *Coburg* to see what agreement could be made betweene him and Luther: Nor did he receive a crosse answer, but diversly the businesse was hindred. Thither also came *Vrbannus Reginus* \* for to consult with Luther.

Bucer goeth to Luther.

\* See Reginus his life.

An. 1531. Luther mildly wrote an Interpretation of *Casars* Edict, not against the Emperour, but against the Princes and Bishops who were the chiefe instruments

An. 1531. An interpretation of *Casars* edict.

An excellent  
Protection  
of M. Luther.

instruments of the Civill broyles. In this he defended diverse chiefe heades of Christian Religion: As the Eucharist in both kinde; that the Church might erre; the Masse and free will be disallowed, and shewed that we are justified by faith, not by workes. Of this point observe his remarkable profession. *I Martin Luther an unworthy preacher of the Gospel of our Lord Iesus Christ thus professe and beleve: That faith alone without respect to our good workes doth justify us before God: and that this Article cannot be overthrown by the Roman Emperour, or the Turk, or the Tartarian, or the Persian, nor by the Pope, or all his Cardinals, Bishops, Sacrificers, Monks, Nunnies, Kings, Princes, Potentates of the world, and all the Devils. This Article, will they nill they, will stand: Hell gates cannot prevail against it. The spirit of God doth dictate this unto me, this is the true Gospel. For thus the Article in the mouth of all Christian children hath is. I beleve in Iesus Christ crucified and dead. Now no man died for our sinnes but Iesus Christ the sonne of God, the one and onely sonne of God: I say it again & again, Iesus the one and onely son of God redeemed us from our sinnes. This is most surely grounded & undoubted Doctrine: thus the whole scripture crieth out aloud, though the devils & all the world storme and burst with anger at it. And if he alone take away the sinnes of the world, we verily cannot doe it with our workes: and it is impossible that I can lay bold on Christ otherwise then by faith: he is never apprehended by my good workes. And seeing faith alone layeth hold on our Redeemer, and not our workes the concomitants of our faith, it abideth undoubted truth; that faith alone before*

before our works, or without our works considered, doth this; which is nothing else, but to be justified, but to be redeemed from our sinnes. Then good works follow our faith, as the effects and fruits thereof. This doctrine I teach: and this the Spirit of God; and the whole Christian Church delivereth for truth: In this I will persist, Amen.

With these two writings, *The Admonition to the Germans*, and *The interpretation of Casars Edict*, Luther madded the nest of the Popish Hornets: who thereupon put forth a book against him, but without any mans name to it. Luther sharply answered this book, and gravely acquitted himself of the crimes objected against him, that is, That he denied the yielding obedience to Casar: that he himself was a Tranſporter for rebellion and sedition: that all things written by him concerning the designs of the Pope were fignments, and lies. But he proved them to be true by many remarkable sayings and deeds of the Pontificians: which are contained in *his German writings*, and other books by him set out this yeere.

In the yeere 31. by Gods goodwille and the intercession of the Archbishi of Mentz, and the Elector Palatine, the Emperour granted Peace to the Protestant Churches, upon some certain conditions, propounded to the Duke of Saxony especially. Which that he should most willingly embrace, Luther by his letter seriously perswaded the then present Elector, and his sonne *Frederik*; who soone after succeeded his father. For this very yeere the 15 day of August, that godly Duke, a most constant

N

Confes-

In the book  
Weber den  
wunck, &c.

\* Tom. 1. of  
his works at  
len. p. 304,  
&c.  
An. 1532.

\* First peace  
to the Prote-  
stants.

\* Skid. B. 8.  
p. 205.

confessour of the Evangelicall truth departed this life. For the perpetuating of whole memory, *Luther* made two funerall Sermons, and *Melancthon* a funerall oration at his buriall, which expressed the Idea or Character of a good Prince.

An. 1533.  
*Luther* comforted the  
*Oschatz*.

A controversie with  
*George Duke*  
of *Saxony*.

In the yeere 1533. *Luther* comforted the Citizens of *Oschatz* by his letter, who had been turned out for the confession of the Gospel. In his letter he saith: *The Devil is the Host, and the World is his Inne: so that where ever you come, you shall be sure to find this ugly Hoste.* He answered also the *Electer* of *Saxony* to this question: *How farre is it lawfull to take up armes in our own defence?* Especially, now there was a great controversie betweene *Luther* and *George Duke* of *Saxony*, who of old hated most vehemently *Luther* and his doctrine. Therefore that the Protestant partie might not be enlarged by his peoples embracing it, he bound them all by oath not to receive *Luthers doctrine*. He also provided that the Citizens of *Leipsick*, who coming to Confession after the Papists manner, and then received the Sacrament, should have a ticket given them, which afterward they should redeliver to the Senate. About seventie were found without tickets. For these consulted with *Luther* what they should do? *Luther* answered, *That they should do nothing contrary to their consciences, as men which firmly beleevd that they should receive the Sacrament in both kinds, and that they should undergo any extremitie.* In the Epistle are these words. *Seeing now Duke George dares undertake to dive into the secrets of mans consciences he is worthy*





Of the dispute with the Devil.

A letter to Frankford.

An. 1534.  
Petrus Paulus  
Vergerius.

An. 1535.  
P. Vergerius  
returneth in-  
to Germany.

nying the former, he yielded himself to be an Apostate and  
revolter, but a blessed and holy one, who had not kept his  
promise made to the Devil: and that he was no other ne-  
witer then a Mammelke, who turneth Christian, or a  
Magician, who renouncing his covenant made with the  
Devil, betakeh himself to Christ. To these passages  
he added divers things concerning Monkeny. And  
again in a new Treatise he oppugned private Masse,  
and the consecration of Priests. In this Treatise he  
related his dispute with the Devil, which the Pa-  
pists & Jesuits diversly play upon. The truth of that  
matter, he in this book unfoldeth, as being the best  
Exposition of his own meaning. He sent also a let-  
ter to the Senate and people of Frankford, in which  
he exhorted them to take heed of Zwingli's do-  
ctrine, and instructed them about the Confession.  
In the yeere 1534, the Elector of Saxony joynd  
in pacification with King Ferdinando. This highly  
grieved Petr. Paulus Vergerius, so that in the name  
of Pope Clement he expostulated the matter with  
Ferdinando. This yeere Luther spent in preaching,  
writing Treatises, and Commenting. And this  
yeere the German Bible translated by him, and  
brought into one body, was first printed, as the old  
priviledge dated at Bibliopolis under the Electors  
hands sheweth.  
In the 1535 yeer, this Bible was published. Then  
the fanies of the Anabaptists began to appeare in  
Wittenburg, and made a very great combustion. This  
yeere P. Paul Vergerius was sent back by the Pope  
into Germany. He spake to the Duke of Saxony about  
the

the holding a Council at Mantua. He also met with Luther, and dealt with him about matters of Religion. Then Luther wrote many Sermons and Epistles, and a book in a popular way about prayer, and a Preface to *Ythanus Regulus* book against the Monasterians, New Valentinians, and Donatists. And when the Pope had appointed the Council at Mantua, Luther wrote certain asseverations and Theses against the *Constantian* (as he call'd it the *Obstantian*) Council. He sent also a consolatory writing to the Christians of *Mittewald* expelled for the Gospels sake: and a letter to the Archbishop of Mainz, the last he calleth it, yet he wrote many after it. This yeere Luther began publicly to preach on *Genesis*, which taske he ended (as himself was wont to ominate) with his life, six yeeres after.

In the yeer 36. the forme of the Concord betweene Luther and Bucer, and other Doctors in the Churches of upper Germany was written by Melancthon at Wittenberg. And published in the end of May. This elsewhere we spake of, and told who subscribed therunto. This yeer Philip Duke of Pomerania at Torgaw married Mary daughter of John Elect. of Saxony, and of Marg. of Anhalt. Luther was at the marriage, and prayed for Gods Blessing upon the new married couple. When all the rites were performed, Duke Philip reached out his hand to Luther, at this Luther stood a while silent, and still held his hand: and with a loud voice said, *The Lord God be with you: and keep your posteritie from falling.* Now when at Barnim the Wnke of Philip had no male child-

Luthers labours.

Council at Mantua.

An. 1536. the Concord betweene Luther and Bucer, &c.

In Bucers life.

dren, *Philips* wife for foure yeeres was barren: so that all the Male stocke of the Duke of *Pomerania* was likely to be ere long extinct: at length, by Gods blessing, according to the prayer of *Luther*, he had seven sonnes by this wife: and wonderfully enlarged that noble Family.

The Assembly at *Smalcald*,  
held.

*Luthers* articles there approved and to be exhibited to the Council.

*Luther* sick of the stone.

In *February* the yeere following the Duke *Elect* of *Saxony* with the *Confederate Princes* and *Cities*, and their *Divines* held an Assembly at *Smalcald* for matters of Religion: that the *Princes* might deliberate about calling the Council to *Mantua*: and the *Divines* conferre about matters of doctrine. *Hither* therefore *Luther* and *Melanchthon* were called, *Luther* wrote Articles concerning the chiefe controverted heads of Christian doctrine. These the other *Divines* did approve, and these were to be exhibited in the Council of *Mantua* (if ever it were held) and put up in the name of the *Saxon* and neere thereunto adjoining Churches. Commonly they are called the *Smalcaldick* Articles. These were joyned to the *Augustane* Confession, and the Apologie, and *Luthers* Catechismes.

At this meeting *Luther* fell sick of a grievous disease, so that there was no hope of his life. He was pained of the stone, and obstruction in the bladder eleven dayes. Here he, though most of his friends disliked and reasoned against it, would be carried thence: the event proved his resolution good. *George Saur* the Physitian being sent for from *Erphord* went along with him. *Luther* as he was carried along, made his will, in which he bequeathed his de-

testation

separation of Popery to his friends and the Pastors: as before in the house of Spalatinus in the yeere 1530. where he made this Verse.

*Pessimum vivam, moriens ero mors tua Papa.*

I living, stopt Romes breath,

And Dead, will be Romes Death.

But the night after his departure thence he began to be somewhat better. At *Tambash* the passages of his urine opened, so that he voyded it in great abundance: and called that Village the place of his happinesse. This recovery of Luther was cause of great joy to many godly men, even to all who loved Luther, especially to Melancthon: who signified the same to Luther in these words by his letter. I heartily thanke the God of all mercy and our Lord Iesus Christ our high Priest interceding for us, and compassionating our infirmities, for your recovery from your dangerous disease. I rejoyce at my heart both for your and the Churches sake, that you enjoy your health againe, and is the rather because herein we behold the apparent love & mercy of God to his Church. Your letter expressing your recovery put cheerfulness into the countenances of the Princes and all good men: they all acknowledge that the light of the Gospel hath been in these dayes made known to the world by your Ministry, and know that they are beholding to you for it: and foresee what a losse it would be to the Church if they should lose you. Therefore with joynt votes they pray that long you may live among us, and thanke God, who hath restored you from death to life. I hope God accepted of this their joy and thanks. And I pray God for Christs sake to make you perfectly sound and healthfull

Luthers recovery.

The joy at his recovery shewed by Melancthon Letter.



healthfull. — Here we have not yet ended our deliberation about giving Cæsars messenger an answer to his harsh dispute against our former answer. So that neither yet is any answer given to the Pope. The Duke of Wittenberg commendeth your noble courage, who durst in such a disease travel, and fly from this cave. He mindeth to follow your example: for having been eight dayes sicke he resolveth so to be gone to morrow. Christ graunt, that I may shortly see you in good health. I was much grieved for you, & that the more, because being absent, I could not performe any friendly office to you. I was perplexed at some physicall errors, by which your disease was augmented: so that no man can expresse how extremity of griefe wrought upon me. Nor am I yet freed from all griefe. If your malady was onely a difficulty of urine from some stopping, I hope all danger is past. But if it be from the bignesse of any stone, I trust that the danger will be much the lesse, and that you have a prudent and faithfull Physician, whom I pray God to direct and assist. From Smalcald. 1537.

An. 1537.

Here the Pope rejourned the meeting of the Synod from the first of November to the first of May the yeere following: and designed the place for it to be *Vincentia* a large and renowned City of the *Venetians*, and sent thither some of the Cardinals to begin the Councel. He pretended a serious consultation for the purging the *Augean Stable*: and now commended the same busines to some choise men, but omitted the propounding of the oath to them, and would that no man should know the intent of this reformation. Yet was it not long hid:  
and



and as soone as it was taken notice of in Germany, Luther in the vulgar tongue, and John Sturm in Latine wrote to the Reformers an answer. Luthers booke by a picture in the frontispice shewed its argument. For the Pope was pictured sitting on a high throne with some Cardinals standing round, who with Fox tails on the end of long poles, as with brushes cleansed all parts above and beneath. At length all that reformation came to nothing, by whose policy and tricks it is well enough knowne. Luther now divulged one of the chiefe Articles of the Papists belief (namely, concerning *Constantines donation*) with annotations confuting it, for the Pontificians sake. He published also some *Epistles of John Hus*, which were sent to the Bohemians in the prison at Constance, An. 1516. and wrote a preface to the Spirituality, who would be present at the Councel. He sent also to the Pope, Cardinals and Prelates, the Legend concerning *Iohn Chrysostome* with a preface and annotations. He sent also an Epistle written in a way of friendly compliance to them of the Evangelical league, concerning the Concord of the *Helvetians*, and therein shewed his consent, and what was his judgement concerning the Supper of the Lord.

Here, as if the Church had not contentions enow already, the new Sect of the *Antinomians* start up. Their chief ring-leader was *Iohn Agricola* of *Isleben*, who formerly had been familiarly acquainted with Luther. They held that repentance was not to be taught from the decalogue, and they reasoned against them, who taught

Luthers booke of the Popes reformation.

The Popes reformation turned to smoke.

The Legend of Iohn Chrysostom.

Luther of the Helvetians.

The sect of the Antinomians.

taught that the Gospel was not to be taught to any, but to such as were humbled by the Law. And they themselves taught, that whatsoever a mans life was, though impure, yet he was justified, so that he believed the Gospel. Thus Luther was put to a new paines, and at large confuted them. And shewed that the Law was not given, that we might be justified by it, but to shew us our sinnes, and to terrifie our consciences. Therefore the Law was first to be taught, and the Gospel afterward, which sheweth the Mediator. *John Agricola* being better instructed by Luther acknowledged his errour, and revoked it under his owne hand in publique.

An. 1538.  
Sim. Lemnius  
his libel.

About this time An. 1538. neere Whitsonide *Melancthon* being Rector of the Univerſity the summer halfe yeere, one *Sim. Lemnius* put forth a booke of *Epigrams*: by which some thought the fame of diuerſe men and women was blemished. Luther hereupon shewed himſelfe to be, as ever, a detester of ſuch notorious libels, and wrote an Epistle to the Church of *Wittenberg* in which he inveighed againſt the Author of the libell, and shewed how he disliked the course of this base Poet. But the Author escaped, and afterward by most impudent lying set forth so filthy and impure writings, that all good people judged, that he was not to be pardoned for his former folly: and that what evill soever befell him, it was farre lesse then his wickednesse and madnesse deserved.

Sleid. b. 13.  
Camerarius in  
*Melancthon*  
life.

This yeere also were put forth the three Oecumenicall Creeds with *Luthers* annotations and exposition.

In

In the yeere 1539. were agitated deliberations with much care and difficultie concerning the obtaining peace of the Emperour: because many feared an attempt unjustly to oppresse the State. Luther therefore together with his Collegues of *Wittenberg*, composed and put forth a Treatise concerning a Defence lawfull, approved, and not contrary to Gods will. And because now the name of the Councell and Church were in every mans mouth, Luther put forth a booke in their mother tongue concerning both of them. In the Preface wherof he saith, that the Pope by calling a Councell doth play with the Church of Christ, as they do with a Dog, who offer him a crust of bread on the point of a knife, and when the Dog taketh it, knock him on the nose with the handle thereof, to make such as see it laugh. Luther in that booke declared the authoritie of the Scriptures. And then treats of the councell Apostolicall, of the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, Carthaginian Councels. And sheweth what a Councell is, and which take called true; what are the signes and works thereof: and that Christian Schooles are perpetuall Councels; and therefore that they are with great care to be maintained, as much advancing the good of the Ecclesiasticall, Politicall, Economickall Hierarchy on earth.

About the Conclusion of the *Smalcald Assembly*, April 24. George Duke of Saxony died childlesse: and declared Henry his brother with his sons Maurice and Augustus his heires upon condition, that they should not alter the Religion: which if they should at-

tempt,

An. 1539.

Of lawfull  
defence.

Of the name  
of Councils  
and the  
Church.

George Duke  
of Saxony  
dyeth. Henry  
succeeds.

Protestancy  
in *Misnia*.

\* Now fiftie  
yeeres old.

An. 1540.  
The confe-  
rence at *Hagenaw*.

*Melancthon*  
sick in his  
journey.

*Luther* pray-  
eth for *Melancthon*, &c.

tempt, he bequeathes his whole territories to King *Ferdinando*, to have and hold the same, till the condition was observed. But whilest the Embassadours treat with *Henry* about the same, making glorious propositions to him, and promising him mountaines of gold: He resolutely denyed to do it. *George* died before the Embassadours could returne; so that *George* otherwise then he intended, held *Henry* for his heire. Hereupon in *Misnia* was presently made such an alteration, that whereas in Easter Holidiaies the Papistickall Priests preached, at *Whitsontide* *Luther* and his Schollers had free possession of the Pulpits. So *Luther* here began Reformation, others after him added perfection thereunto.

In the yeere 1540. it was decreed that the Divines should meet at *Hagenaw* on the *Rhine*, and peaceably conferre about the Doctrin of controverted points. *Melancthon* journeying thither, fell into a grievous disease at *Vinaria*: so that there he stayd, and made his Will, and prepared himself for death. Hither *Luther* and *Cruciger*, at the Electors instance, took their journey both by night and day. Here *Luther* finding *Melancthon* pittytully consumed with the disease, weeping and sighing cried. *How excellent and usefull an instrument of the Church do we find miserably sick and almost dead.* And when he had saluted him, He fell down on his knees, and heartily prayed for him: and then performed what friendly offices he could by comforting, admonishing, and sometimes chiding the sick man. Of this *Melancthon* thus wrote to *Camerarius*. I cannot by words expresse, what

what paines I have undergone, into which sometimes I have a relasse. I perceived also that Doctor Luther was much afflicted in minde for me: but he concealed his sorrow, because he would not encrease mine. And endeavoured to cheere me up with his noble courage; sometimes comforting, sometimes reproving me (sometimes sharply. Had he not come to me, I had died.

This yeere Robert Barnes a learned Divine was burnt at London the last of June, for witnessing to Gods truth. He was familiarly known to Luther, upon his coming to Wittenberg in the Embassie about the divorce made by King Henry. Luther caused the Confession of this his friend, and the faithfull Martyr of Christ to be printed with his Preface, and besides admonished the Pastours by another peculiar Treatise, to inveigh against Usurers and Usury.

In the beginning of the yeere 1541. Luther wrote a consolatory letter to Frederik Myconius lamentably spent with a Consumption: and affirmed that himself could have no joy so live, if he died: and thereupon wished that he himself might first lay down the tabernacle of his weake body: and said that he was verily perswaded that his prayers should be granted for Myconius life. As indeed it came to passe: for Myconius out-lived Luther six yeers, and would say: that Luther obtained this for him by his prayers. After Easter, Bernard the infant sonne of John of Anhalt was baptized at Dessau. Here Luther preached two Sermons to the Courtiers, the Brother of the Prince of Anhalt, and the Bishop of Brandenburg: which were printed. He wrote also an Answer to a

Robert Barnes  
burnt at London.

His confession  
on printed by  
Luther.

An. 1541.  
Myconius sick  
and comforted  
by Luther.



John Cudding.

Tom. 7. Jen.

An. 1542.

The Alcoran  
in the Ger-  
man tongue.

rayling book of one, whom he calleth *Hans Wurst*. Wherein he defended himself and his doctrine, against the Papists and their Popish errors. He put forth also an Exhortation to prayer against the Turk: and answered the Princes questions concerning Transubstantiation, Free-will, Justification by faith, and other points.

About this time the Bishoprick of *Neuburg*, by *Sala* was voyd. There *Nicolas Amisdorf* a Divine born of a noble Family, was entailed by *Luther*, at the command of the Elector of *Saxony* the Patron of that Diocese, and *Johann Pflugius*, whom the Canons of the Colledge chose, was refused. *Luther* placed him in the Bishoprick, Jan. 20. An. 1542. This thing, as many conceived, gave occasion to other stirres: and very much offended the Emperour, who much affected *Pflugius* for divers respects. Of this see more in *Amisdorfs* life. After this *Luther* wrote a book in the German tongue, and called it, *The Pattern of the inauguration of a true Christian Bishop*.

He published at that time the *Alcoran*, which by *Richard* a Dominican was translated into the vulgar tongue: He added to it a faithfull admonition concerning the abandoning the Turks doctrine, and affirmed that not the Turk, but the Pope was *Antichrist*. And upon a difference rising between the Elector of *Saxony* and *Maurice* concerning the territories and town of *Wurzen*, so that warre was likely to ensue, *Luther* with weightie reasons in his letters dissuaded both the Princes from their designs. He further

ther also opened his judgement about a Position some yeeres ago by him propounded: Namely, that to warre against the Turk was nothing else but to fight against God; who useth him as his whip to scourge us. Now also he wrote a consolatory letter concerning abortive birthes and bringing forth dead children.

The yeeres 1543 and 44. produced many great troubles and stirres. For now the Sacramentary contention began afresh, to Melancthon's great grief: whom some attempted to set at jarres with Luther. Some there were also, who sought to coole Luther's heat, and spake little more favourably of the Rhenan Churches, then of the Turks. Wherefore when Christopher Froschoverius the Printer of Tigur sent Luther a copie of his Tigurin Bible then Printed, Luther admonished him by his letter, that he should not publish anything, which came to him from the Ministers of Tigur: and that he had nothing to do with them, nor would receive or read their books: that the Churches of God could not joyne in Communion with them, who already were running into the way of Perdition; and would bring others into hell and damnation: and that he would oppugne them with his prayers and books whilest he lived. And now Luther first wrote against the Jews, and refuted their lies, and their blasphemous conceit about Shemhamphorah, the name of God expounded. He also wrote his judgement, and a short answer to Cassp. Schwenckfelds book and letter: whom he had not to mention him in his writings, and sent him away with this answer. The

Lord

An. 1543.

Cambrarius in the life of Melancthon.

Luther to the Printer of Tigur.

Luther writeth against the Jews.

His answer to C. Schwenckfeld.

Lord reprove Satan who is in thee; confusion befall the Spirit, which called thee, and the course which thou runnest, and all the Sacramentarians and Eutychians, who partake with thee, and all thy blasphemies. Then doest as they, of whom it was written: they ran and I sent them not; they spake and I commanded them not.

His judgement about ceremonies and excommunication.

Luther at Marburg.

A commentary upon Davids last words.

An. 1544. Commentary on Genesis.

He wrote also his minde to others concerning the Ceremonies and excommunication: he desired that there should be few Ceremonies, and they tending to edification, and that excommunication should be brought into the Church as a profitable discipline: but could scarce hope to see it. He admonished the young students at Wittenberg to avoyd fornication, with w<sup>ch</sup> some then were taxed: yea he threatned that he would hold no societie with men of that ill condition: and tarried some time at Marburg with the Prince of Anhalt: But afterward he was call'd to his ordinary taske by the University, sending for him an honourable Embassie. About this time he wrote an excellent Commentary upon the last words of David, wherein he soundly and plainly declared the Article of the Trinitie, the distinction of the persons, Christs Deitie and humanitie.

In the yeere 1544. he finished the first part of his Commentaries on Genesis: in which he often blameth the Sacramentarians: and foretelleth, that after his death many would oppugne Luthers doctrine. Then in September he published the brieft and last Confession concerning the Eucharist: wherein he expressly explaineth what in the Lords Supper is received by the worthy receivers, what by the unworthy, what by

by faith, what without faith: and censures Zwinglyus, Oecolampadius and others as Tigur: who set forth an Apologie of their doctrin the yeere following. Of this\* elsewhere is spoken.

This very yeere the 17. of November he finished his explication of Genesis: which was his last publique reading in the Univerfitie: which he concluded with these words. Thus end I my explication on Genesis; God grant that others may more rightly and truly expound it, then I have done. I cannot proceed farther therein: my strength faileth me: pray for me, that it would please God to grant me a quiet and comfortable departure out of this life.

This yeere in Italy was spread a most impudent lie about Luthers death: The summe of it translated out of the Italian is this.

A stupendious & rare miracle which God ever  
 "to be praised, shewed about the filthy death of  
 "Martin Luther, a man damned both in body and  
 "soule, so that it conduced to the glory of Jesus  
 "Christ, and the amendment and comfort of god-  
 "ly men. When Martin Luther was sick, he desi-  
 "red the Lords body to be communicated to him,  
 "which he receiving, died presently. When he  
 "saw that he must die, he requested that his body  
 "might be set upon the Altar, and be adored with  
 "divine worship. But God to put an end to his  
 "horrible errors, by a great miracle warned the  
 "people to abstain from the impietie, which Lu-  
 "ther invented: For when his body was laid in his  
 "grave: suddenly so great a stirre and terroure  
 "arose,

\* In the life of Bulling and Lavat. Histor. Sacr.

Luthers last Lecture.

See Mathes. Sermon concerning Luther. p. 169. b.

The lye in Italy about Luthers death.

Tom. 8. Jen. p. 106.

"arose, as if the foundations of the earth were sha-  
 "ken together. Whereupon all at the funerall  
 "trembling, were astonished, and after a while list-  
 "ing up their eyes, beheld the sacred hoste appear-  
 "ing in the ayre. Wherefore with great devotion  
 "of heart, they placed the most sacred Host on the  
 "holy Altar. Whereupon the fearefull noyse cea-  
 "sed. But in the night following a loud noyse and  
 "rattling much shriller then the former was heard  
 "about the sepulcher of Luther, which awaked all  
 "the Citie, terrified them, and almost kill'd them  
 "with astonishment. In the morning when they  
 "opened the sepulcher, they found neither his bo-  
 "dy, nor his bones, nor any of the cloathes: but  
 "there came a sulphurous stinke out thereof, which  
 "almost overcame the standers by. By this mira-  
 "cle many were so amazed, that they amended  
 "their lives for the honour of the Christian faith,  
 "and the glory of Jesus Christ. When this lye  
 came Printed into Germany, Luther did subscribe  
 with his own hand, words to this purpose.

*I Martin Luther doe professe and witness, under  
 mine owne hand, that I on the 21. day of March recei-  
 ved this sigment full of anger, and fury concerning my  
 death, and that I read it with a joyfull mind, and cheer-  
 full countenance: And but that I detest the blasphemy,  
 which ascribeth an impudent lie to the divine Majestie,  
 for the other passages, I cannot but with great joy of  
 heart laugh at Satans, the Popes, and their complices  
 hatred against me. God turne their hearts from their di-  
 abolicall maliciousnesse. But if God decree not to haere  
 my*



my prayers for their sinner unto death: then God graunt  
that they may fill up the measure of their sinnes, and so-  
lace themselves to the full with their libels, full fraught  
with such like lies.

This yeere Luther set forth a book intituled, *A-  
gainst the Popedom ordained by the Devill*. In this he  
treats of the Council appointed by the Pope, and  
often adjourned, or translated from place to place,  
and of other plots of the Popes. There he speaketh  
of the *Campanian*, who coming out of Germany  
into Italy, turned his bare breech towards Germany,  
using words to the disgrace of the nation.

The Italian  
disgraced the  
Germans.

Luther published divers other Treatises as the  
explication of Christs speech: *Search the scriptures*:  
And *answered The Blasphemies & ingratitude of the world*,  
in handling Christs complaint of Ierusalem. By Lu-  
thers advice especially, *Georgius Anhaltinus* under-  
rooke the government of the Church of *Mersburg*.  
Of this is spoken in the life of Duke *George*.

In the yeere 1546. Luther accompanied with  
*Melancthon* visited his owne country: and return-  
ed again in safety. Not long after, the Council of  
*Trent* being begun, and having sate once or twice,  
Luther was called again by the *Earles of Mansfield*  
to his owne country, for to compose a diffention a-  
mong them concerning their bounds and herita-  
ges. Luther was not wont to deale in matters of this  
nature, having been versed in sacred studies all his  
life time: but because he was borne at *Wittenberg*, a  
towne in the territories of *Mansfield*, he was wil-  
ling to do his countrey service in this kind. Where-

An. 1546.

The Council  
of Trent be-  
gan.  
*Campanian* in  
vita *Melanct.*

Luther called  
to *Mansfield*.

He lodged  
at *Jesum Jo-*  
*hannis* house.

Luthers dan-  
ger.

Luther very  
sick.

Luthers im-  
ployment.

Luthers con-  
ference.

Whether in  
the other life  
we shall  
know one a-  
nother.

fore making his last sermon at *Wittenburg* the 17. day of *January*, he tooke his journey on the 23. day: And at *Hall* in *Saxony* lodged at *Iustus Jonas* his house, where he stayed three dayes because of the roughnesse of the waters, and preached the 26. of *January* upon *Pauls Conversion*. On the 28. day being Thursday at *Hall* he passed over the river with *Iustus Jonas* and his own three sonnes, and being in danger of drowning said to D<sup>r</sup> *Jonas*; *Think you not, that it would rejoyce the Devill very much, if I and you and my three sonnes should be drowned?* When he came to the Earles of *Mansfield*, he was entertained by a hundred horsemen or more of the Court, and was brought into *Isleben* very honourably, but very sick, and almost past recovery: which thing he said did often befall him, when he had any great businesse to undertake. But using some meanes for cure of his infirmity, he sate at supper with the company: and so continued to do from the 29. of *January* to the 17. of *February*, and treated of the differences, for whose determination he came thither. In this time he preached sometimes, and twice received the Lords supper, and publikely received two stufents into the sacred order of the Ministry. And at his lodging used much godly conference at Table with his friends, and every day devoutly prayed. The day before his death though he was somewhat weake, yet he dined and supped with the company: and at supper spake of divers matters and among other passages asked, *whether in Heaven we should know one another?* when the rest desired to heare his

his judgement thereof. He said. *What befell Adam? he never saw Eve, but was at rest in a deep sleep, when God formed her, yet when he awaked and saw her, he asketh not, what she was, or whence she was? but saith, that she was flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone. Now how knew he this? He being full of the Holy Ghost, and endued with the knowledge of God, thus spake. After the same manner we also shall be in the other life renewed by Christ, and shall know our parents, our wives, and children, and all about us, much more perfectly, then Adam knew Eve at her bringing to him.*

After supper, when he went aside to pray, as was his custome, the paine in his breast began to increase: whereupon by the advice of some there present, he tooke a little *Vnicornes* horne in wine: and after that slept quietly an houre or two on a pallar neer the fire. When he awaked, he brooke himselfe to his chamber, went to bed, and bidding his friends, good night, admonished them, who were present to pray God for the propagation of the Gospel: because the Councel of Trent and the Pope would attempt wonderfull devises against it. Having thus said, after a little silence he fell asleep: But was awaked by the violence of his disease after mid-night. Then complained he again of the narrowness of his breast, and perceiving that his life was at an end, he thus implored Gods mercy, and said.

*O heavenly father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I give thee heartie thanks, that thou hast revealed to me, thy Son Iesus Christ, whom I beleave, whom I professe,*

Luthers disease of which he died.

Luthers prayer before his death.

## The Death of Dr. Martin Luther.

whom I love, whom I glorifie, whom the Pope of Rome  
and the rons of the wicked persecute and dishonour. I be-  
seech thee, Lord Iesus Christ to receive my soule. O my  
gracious heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this  
life, though I must now lay down this frail body: yet I  
certainly know, that I shall live with thee eternally, and  
that I cannot be taken out of thy hands. He added  
moreover. God so loved the world, that he gave his  
only begotten Son, that every one, who believeth in him  
should not perish, but have life everlasting. And that  
in the 68. Psalme. Our God is the God of salvation:  
and our Lord is the Lord, who can deliver from death.  
And here taking a medicine, and drinking it, he  
further said: Lord I render up my spirit into thy hands  
and come to thee. And again, Lord into thy hands I com-  
mend my spirit, thou, O God of truth, hast redeemed me.  
Here as one falling asleep and without any bodily  
pain, that could be discerned, he departed this life.  
And when Doctor Iomas and Calius said. O reverend  
father, do you die in the constant confession of that do-  
ctrine of Christ, which you have hitherto preached? He  
answered so as he might be heard: yea, which was  
the last word he spake. Thus he in his native coun-  
trei, not having seen it many yeers before, dyed  
much lamented by many. This fell on the eighteen  
of February on the day in the Calender ascribed to  
Concord, about three a clock in the morning, in the  
great climactericall yeere of his age. Soone after  
his body put into a coffin of Lead, was carried in  
funerall manner to the Temple of Iseben: where  
Iustus Iomas preached.

Then

Luthers death.

## The Death of Dr. Martin Luther.

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Then the *Earles of Mansfield* desired that his body should be interred within their territories: But the *Electors of Saxony*, required that it should be brought back to *Wittenberg*. In the return thereof, which way so ever it went, it was honourably attended, and with much griefe accompanied out of each Princes Dominion: and at length upon the 12. of *February* in the afternoon, was brought to *Wittenberg*, and was carried into the *Temple* neere adjoyning to the *Castle*, with such a troop of *Princes, Earles, Nobles*, their living as students, and other people, that the like was seldome or never seene in that town. When the funerall rites were performed, *Pomeranus* preached to an assembly of many thousands. And after that *Melancthon* with many teares and sighes made a funerall Oration. When this was done, the coffin with his body was put by the hands of divers learned men, into the tomb neere to the pulpit, in which he had made many learned Sermons before divers *Princes, Electors*, and the Congregation of many faithfull Christians. In a brazen plate his picture, lively deciphered, was there set up, with verses by it to this effect.

*Luthers body brought to Wittenberg.*

His honourable buriall.

This



This Sepulchre great *Luthers* Corps contains  
This might suffice: yet, read these following strains.

**H**eer, in this *Vrue* doth *Martin Luther* rest,  
And sweetly sleep in hope to rise most blest.  
By whose rare pains, firme faith, and *Christ*s free Grace;  
Which formerly, thick Fogs of Error base,  
And duskie Clouds of Works desert bid quite,  
Were well reduced to their ancient Light.  
For, when blind Superstition ruled All,  
And did faire Truth; long time, suppress, and thrall,  
He, by Gods Word and Spirits inspiration,  
The Gospels Light re-spread, for every Nation.  
And, well-instructed by Pauls sacred voyce, (*choir*.  
(Scorning *Romes* Cheats,) to teach pure Truth, made  
And, as *John Baptist*, in the *Wildernesse*,  
Did Gods Lamb, who heales Sin Preach and expresse:  
So (O Sweet *Christ*) did *Luther* cleare thy book,  
When all the World was caught with Errors book.  
And, what the difference was betwixt the Law  
(Whose tables *Moses* brake, though God he saw,  
Vpon Mount-Sinai) and the Gospel sweet, (*meets*.  
Which heales Sin-consciow hearts, which Gods wrath  
This difference, lost, to th' world He did restore,  
That, so, *Christ*s gifts of Grace might shine the more;  
He stoutly did oppose *Romes* Cheats and Charms,  
And Papal rule, which wrought Gods Saints great harms.  
Exhorting all, *Romes* idols for to flie,  
He many soules wan to true pietie.  
And, maugre all *Romes* threats and snares most flie,  
Finiht,

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*Finisht, in Faith, his Course, most valiantly.  
Dying in peace, his Soule with Christ doth rest,  
Crown'd with immortall Glory, truly blest.  
For which rare Doctor let both high and low  
Blesse God, that they so cleare Christs truth do know.  
And pray the Lord that these his Gospels rayes  
May to the World shine-forth for daselesse dayes.*

Philip Melancthon.

*Dead is grave Luther, worthy all due praise,  
Who set forth Christ, in Faith illustrious rayes.  
His Death the Church laments, with Sighs sincere,  
Who was her Pastour, nay, her Patron deare.  
Our Israels Chariots and Horsemen rare,  
Is Dead, with me, let All sad Sables weare,  
Let them their griefe in groaning verses sing,  
For, such sad Knells, such Orphans, best, may ring.*

Theodore Beza.

*Rome sam'd the World, the Pope sam'd Rome, so great,  
Rome rul'd by Power, the Pope by deep Deceit.  
But, how more large, than Theirs, was Luthers Fame,  
Who, with One Pen, both Pope and Rome did tame?  
Go, fiftious Greece, go tell Alcides, then,  
His Club is nothing to great Luthers Pen.*

John Major.

*By Luthers labours, Leo the tenth is slain,  
Nor Hercules Club, but Luthers Pen's his bane.*

Joachim

Q

The Death of D<sup>r</sup>. Martin Luther.

Joachim a Beuff.

*When Luther dy'd, then, with him dy'd, most sure,  
A Crown, and credit of Religion pure.  
His Soul fear'd-up to heaven, on Concords day,  
Which tended Luther, thither, on his way:  
Deare Christ, since Discord followed with Coates rent,  
Give to thy Sponse Elijahs ornament.*

Upon his Tomb-stone the Univerfitie of  
Wittenberg, as to her beloved  
father, engraved.

MARTINI LVTHERI S. THEOLOGICI  
D. CORPVS H. L. S. E. QVI ANNO  
CHRISTI M. D. XLVI. XII. CAL.  
MARTII EISELEBII IN PA-  
TRIA S. M. O. C. V. AN.  
LXIII. M. III. D. X.

The body of  
Martin Luther  
Doctour of  
Divinity lieth  
here interred,  
who in An.  
1546. the  
12. of the  
Kalends of  
March died in  
Witten the  
place of his  
birth: when  
he had lived  
63. yeeres 3.  
moneths and  
tenne dayes.

Melancthon  
sorrow for  
Luthers death.

Their intire  
love & faith-  
full society.

Thus Luther ran his course, & this was the period  
of his travels. When first Melancthon heard newes  
of his death, he uttered these sacred words of the  
scripture: *The Chariot and horsemen of Israel is gone:*  
and tooke his death most heavily. For they had  
lived together 28. yeeres in most religious man-  
ner, so that Melancthon truely loved him for his ad-  
mirable vertues: and was a faithfull mate and hel-  
per to him in clearing the doctrine of the Gospel.  
For though those times were prone to distractions,  
and

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and mens wavering mindeſ deſirous of diſſention, yet when as each knew others infirmitieſ, there never fell any jarre betweene them, which cauſed any alienation of their affection, or parting their company and fellowſhip.

But what and how great ſtormeſ roſe in Germany after the death of Luther (out alas!) each Chriſtian knoweth. So that Luther ſaid truly, and often foretold: *That whilſt he lived, by Gods help, there would no warre be rayſed in Germany; but when he was dead, the age to come would ſee the event.* Concerning the doctrine of the Goſpel, he uttered this heavenly truth. Theſe things will be a great bane to Chriſtian Religion. Firſt, *forgetfulneſſe of Gods bleſſing on uſ in reſtoring to uſ the Goſpel.* Secondly, *ſecurity, which already commonly and every where reigneth.* Thirdly, *worldly wiſdome, which would bring all things into good order, and cure the publique ſtirres with wicked Counſels.*

There waſ in this worthy man of God a quicke and prudent underſtanding, a magnanimous and noble Spirit. He waſ ever conſtant in known truth: from the confeſſion whereof he could never be removed with threatſ or promiſeſ. So that when upon a time, one Papiſt demanded of another, *Why do you not ſtop the mans mouth with gold and ſilver?* The other answered: *See, this German beaſt careth not for money.*

There appeared in him a ſingular prooſe of his valour and noble courage in the *Auſpurg* Aſſembly, when thus he wrote out of his *Wilderneſſe* to *Spe-*

What followed  
Luthers  
death.

See Mabel.  
Serm. on Lu-  
thers life.

What will be  
great hinder-  
anceſ of  
Chriſtian  
Religion.

Luthers ver-  
tueſ.

His conſtan-  
cy in the  
truth.

Luthe<sup>r</sup>s copu-  
ragious  
speech about  
the Gospels  
succell. at  
the Assembly  
at Ampurg  
1530.

*Latinus*. " That Kings and Princes and people, rage  
" against the Christ or anointed of God, I esteem it  
" a good sign, and think it much better then if they  
" flattered. For thereupon followeth, that he that  
" dwells in heaven laughs at them. And when our  
" Lord and King laughs, I see no cause, why we  
" should weep before their faces. He laughs not  
" for his own sake, but for ours, that we rather trust-  
" ing to him then to any thing else, might laugh at  
" their vain designs: so much need is there of faith,  
" that the cause of faith may not be looked upon  
" without faith. But he that begun this worke, he  
" began it without our counsell and contrivance,  
" And he himself will forward with it, and finish it  
" without, and beyond all our counsels and devises:  
" of this I make no question, I know and am assu-  
" red hereof. He in whom I beleeve, is able to do  
" above all, which we can aske or conceive. Though  
" *Philip Melancthon* contrive and desire that God  
" should work according to, and within the com-  
" passe of his counsels, that he might have wherein  
" to glory: and say. Surely thus the businesse should  
" be carried: Thus would I have done. But this is  
" not well spoken: I *Philip* would have it so: This (I)  
" is too flat and dull, too low a style. It must be  
" thus. The God, who saith, I am that I am; this  
" is his name, *I am*; He will have it so. It is not  
" yet seen who he is, but he will appear, as he is, and  
" we shall see him. But I have done. Be you vali-  
" ant in the Lord, and put *Melancthon* in minde  
" from me, that he set not himself in Gods place:  
" but



“but fight against that ambition of Deitie, which  
 “was inbred and took root in us in Paradise by the  
 “devils suggestion: for that is an affectation not  
 “furthering the businesse now in hand. The desire  
 “of being like God, thrust *Adam* and *Eve* out of  
 “Paradise, and it alone doth trouble us, and turn  
 “us out of the course of Peace. We must be mor-  
 “tall men, and not Gods: Thus in brieft: If we  
 “think otherwise, everlasting unquietnesse and an-  
 “guish of heart will be our reward.

*Luther* was ready for Martyrdom once or twice,  
 and thought his adversaries would have him to it:  
 whereupon at his going to *Ausburg. An. 1518.*  
 thus he wrote to his deare freind \* *Melanct.* Shew  
 your selfe a man of resolution, as you already doe. Teach  
 the students Gods truth. I am going (if God so please)  
 to be sacrificed for them and you. For I had rather die,  
 and never more enjoy (which thing alone would be most  
 grievous to me) your most sweet societie, then to recant  
 and revoke any truth which I have preached, and give  
 occasion to overthrow the right course of studies. And  
 elsewhere he thus wrote \* to *Spalatinus.* I had rather,  
 as I have often sayd, die by the hands of the Romanists  
 alone. And would by no meanes that *Charles* and his  
 Counsellours should interpose themselves in putting mee  
 to death. I know what misery befell *Sigismund* the Em-  
 peror after the martyring of *Hus*: how nothing prospered  
 with him afterward, how he died without issue male,  
 how his daughters sonne *Ladillaus* also died, and so had  
 he his name extinguished in one age of men: besides  
*Barbara* his Queen became a dishonour to the royall  
 place

\* Tom. 1. epist.  
p. 85.

\* Tom. 1. epist.  
p. 197. and  
Tom. 2. p. 340.

The Empe-  
rour *Sigismund*  
unhappy after  
*Hus* his death.

Tom. 2 E.  
p. ff.

The chiefe  
points of Re-  
ligion opened  
and cleared  
by Luther.

place she held, and other matters which you well know. But yet if it so please God, that I shall be delivered into the hands not only of the Papists & spiritual Governours, but of Temporal Magistrates also, the Lords will be done. Amen. And againe thus to Lambert Thorn imprisoned. I rejoyce with you most heartily, and give thanks to our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, that he hath not onely graciously given me the knowledge of his word, but made me see a plentifull and glorious encrease of his grace in you. Wretched man that I am! It is reported that I first taught those things, for which you suffer, and yet shall be the last, or perhaps shall not be vouchsafed at all, to be made partaker of your imprisonments & Martyrdoms. Yet herein will I challenge something, and comfort my selfe in this, that your miseries, your bondes and imprisonments, the fires prepared for you are mine also: and so indeed they are, seeing I professe and preach the same things with you, and suffer and rejoyce together with you.

God by Luther and his fellow workmen opened and cleared the necessarie doctrine of Gods Church concerning the Mediatour and justification of man before God, of the differences of the Law and the Gospel, of worship pleasing God, of Invocation: and other points. He was wont often to deplore the ungodly praying to the Saints departed, and said: That there were many reasons, why that invocation was execrable, and that this was one chiefe: namely, that by that profane custome the Testimony of Christs Divinity was obscured, to whom both the writings of the Prophets and Apostles attribute the honour of invocation. These are the idols which

which sharpen the barbarous sword of the Turk to cut of our neckes. Nor will he ever be kept from shedding our blood, except in godly manner those things be reformed. For how wicked and impious those hymnes be, which are sung in the Popes Quires, who knoweth not? O Mary, thou Mother of grace defend us from our enemy, and in the houre of death receive us. And againe. Saint Dorothy create a new heart within us: Saint Catharin translate us from the troublesome sea of the world to the pleasures of Paradise: open Paradise for us.

And that Gods truth might be propagated to posterity, with continuall and great labour and study he so plainly and perspicuously out of the originall texts translated the Bible into the German tongue, that his translation may well serve in steed of a Commentary. He often speaketh of the labour and difficulty of this taske. As in his letter to Wenceslaus Lincus. We are now busied in translating the Prophets, a worke (God knoweth) of great paines and industry, to bring Hebrew writers to speake the German tongue; to leave their Hebrew idiom, and expresse themselves in our barbarous language: This is as if the Nightingale should be compelled to imitate the Cuckow, to leave her warbling melody, and fall into an unisone. And again to Spalatinus. In translating Iob we are put to very great paines in regard of the loftinesse of the style: that this book may seeme more impatient of our translation, then Iob himselfe of his friends comforting him: He may seeme yet still to sit upon the dunghill. Unless perhaps the Author of the booke desired

Melancthon  
Tom. 6. de-  
clam.

Luthers wor-  
thy paines in  
translating  
the Bible.

The difficul-  
ty of Iob's  
Translation.

Luthers course  
in translating  
the Bible.

*Tom. 1 epist.*  
271.

*Matthes. Ser-*  
*mon con-*  
*cerning Lu-*  
*thers lite. p.*  
153.

Luthers revi-  
sing the first  
Edition of  
the Bible.

red, that it never should be translated. This is the reason why the Presse maketh no better hast in this part of the Bible. In this worke he used the paines and counsel of his colleagues, whom elsewhere we have named, that they might be witnesses of his faithfull care in darke places. He entreated *Spalatinus* to send precious stones from the Court, for his better knowledge of them: and took care that he might know the names and differences of certain beasts and fowles, and creeping things, and insects. He had Rams, Sheep, Calves kild and cut up at his house, and learned the names of their joynts and the proprietie of speech about them, from the butchers. Oftentimes, as himself relateth, he spent fourteen dayes together in the interpretation of one word or line with *Melancthon* and *Aurogallus* help. In their consultation, this was their course. *Luther was President in the work performed in the Monastery, and ever had by him the old Latine Translation, and his new one, and the Originall Text: To Melancthons care was commended the Greek Bible; to Crucigers the Hebrew and Chaldee: other professors were employed in the perusing the Rabbins: and every one of them still came to the worke well premeditated. Every one gave his judgement concerning the place to be translated, they compared all together, and at length concluded of the expression thereof. But Luther before his death revised the first edition: for one day teacheth another. For this paines we owe him perpetuall thanks: for it much benefits the Church, and informeth such as know not the originall: yea it much pleasures the learned*

learned in the tongues for conference of translations. Yet this paines was blamed by *Vicellius* and *Staphylus* and other vassals of the Pope.

*Luther* also published many learned Expositions and Comments on the Scripture: Of w<sup>ch</sup> thus saith *Erasmus*. In one leaf of *Luthers Commentaries* is more solid Divinitie, then in many prolix Treatises of the School-men, and other the like. He also refined and much enriched the German tongue: He translated out of Latine, some things which other thought not possible to be rendred in the vulgar tongue, and yet used most significant and proper words, so that some one word might seeme to set the whole matter forth most expressly.

Of the Pope *Luther* wrote, how he made use of the Masse even for the souls departed: and saith, that he with his Masse had gone not onely into all corners of the world, but even into purgatory it self: here he useth a word in the German tongue signifying the noyse of his tumbling down into hell. Also he calleth Indulgence-Mongers, *purse-brothers*, because the Pope winnowed good money out of that chaffe. There are full many such passages in his German writings. Well therefore said renowned *Scurinus* concerning him. "*Luther* may be reputed very well the Master of our tongue, whether you speake of the puritie or copiousnesse of it. The counsellors of Princes, the Judges of Cities, all Secretaries, all Embassadors and Lawyers attribute this praise to him being a Divine. The cause defended by him was just and neces-

R

Who carped at this.

*Luther* expositions of the Bible, *Erasmus*, judgement thereof.

*Luthers* eloquence in his own tongue.

\* *18 binumer gerum, Peti in die belle.*



## The Death of Dr. Martin Luther.

“cessary, and of it self deserved the victory: but  
 “assuredly he shot forth the darts of his arguments,  
 “with the strong armes of true Oratory. If he had  
 “not revived Religion, if he had preached no Ser-  
 “mons; had he written nothing else, but what he  
 “divulged of the Scriptures translated, yet for this  
 “his paines, he deserved very excellent and per-  
 “petuall glory. For if the Greek and Latine, and  
 “other translations be compared with the *German*,  
 “they come short for clearnesse, purenesse, pro-  
 “prietie, & agreeing with the original. I am perswa-  
 “ded that as no Painter could passe *Apellis*; so not  
 “any writer can go beyond *Luther* for his transla-  
 “tion in our tongue.

*Luthers adver-  
 saries.*

*Secret plots  
 against Lu-  
 ther.*

He began a matter, as was conceived, beyond  
 the reach of man; and liable to extreame danger.  
*But there is no counsell, no power prevalent against the  
 Lord: who most admirably defended Luther living  
 and dead against all his adversaries. Whilest he li-  
 ved, he had most potent, most subtle enemies, and  
 in a word, all Antichrists kingdome: nor onely did  
 the Pope and his Bishops, his Universities and other  
 Sophisters openly set upon him with Bulls and Trea-  
 tises published: but designed to take him away  
 closely with poyson, daggers, guns, and other  
 meanes. Concerning secret plots against him, they  
 be well known. He thus speaks of them. “There  
 “\* is here a Polonian Jew hired with two thousand  
 “crownes to poyson me: my friends have disclo-  
 “fed the plot to me by their letters. He is a Do-  
 “ctor of Physick, and dare attempt any thing, and  
 “will*

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"will go about it with incredible craft and celerity.  
 "This very houre I caused him to be apprehended; what the event will be, I cannot say. This is the news. To Spalatinus also <sup>a</sup> he wrote, *that there were many Authors of the plot, whom he would not have wracks, if they would not voluntarily confesse by whom they were suborned, but endeavoured to have them set at libertie. Yet he addeth. Though I am fully perswaded that he was the man descried unto me, all marks of him did so rightly answer the description sent to me. Again, what the Papists did attempt, the words of Alexander the Popes Legate do well declare. Of w<sup>b</sup> Luther thus speaks. Spalatinus writeth <sup>b</sup> that Alexander was bold to say; Though you Germans, who pay the least summes of money to the Pope, have shaken off the yoke of servitude, yet we will take a course that ye shall be consumed with civill broyles, and perish in your own bloud.*

Concerning the fables and lies cast abroad in his lifetime, what should I say? Of his countrey and parentage, it was bruited, that he was a Bohemian, and borne of (as they call them) heretical Parents. Then they layd aspersions upon his promotion at Wittenberg, and detamed it with sundry lies. Heare what he wrote to Spalatinus: *That Embassador, or I know not what of Ferdinands, was with me, to see what manner of man I was, and how I carried my selfe. He sayd that it was told his Master, that I went up and down armed and guarded, and did spend my time among Queanes, divers tavern hunters, and was notorious among all men, with I know not what other the like honours. But I am now well inured to such lies. How*

R 2

often

<sup>a</sup> Tom. 2. epist.  
271.

The Papists  
designes.

<sup>b</sup> Tom. 2. epist.  
p. 8.

Lies against  
Luther.

Tom. 2. epist.  
p. 8.

Tom. 2. cp.  
p. 71. 85.  
289.

\* Tom. 2.  
cp. pag. 6.

\* Tom. 1. cp.  
p. 292.

often was he reported to fly to the *Bohemians*? how often were *scandals* rayed from his writings? how often was he cal'd a *flatterer of Princes*, a *trumpet of sedition*? His bold speech and vehemency was a string much harped upon. Whence he saith of himselfe. *Almost all men* \* *condemne me of too much eagernessse.* But I am of your mind, that it is Gods will to have the *inventions of men* in this manner thus revealed. For I see matters in this our age quietly handled to be quickly forgotten, and no man to regard them. And again. \* " Yet do not I deny, but that I am more vehement then is fit: which thing seeing they know " so well, they should refraine from provoking me: " How hard a thing it is to bridle the pen, you may " well enough learne by your selfe. And this is the " reason, why I have ever been averse from shewing " my selfe in publique matters: but the more averse that I was, so much the more was I carried " against my owne desire, yet never, unlesse most " grievous wrongs were done, the Word of God " or my selfe for its sake. Whereupon it fell out " that had I not been apt by nature to vehemency " and imbittering my style, the very indignity of " the matter would have urged a dead and stony " heart to write sharply: how much more my selfe, " who am of an ardent spirit, & write not a dul stile. " Monsters of men carried me beyond the due " temper of modesty. For the warrant of this sharpnes he used to alleadge the example of Christ, who called the *Jewes*, an *adulterous & perverse generation*, a *generation of Vipers, hypocrites, children of the Devill* :

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will: and Pauls example, who calleth them *dogs*, *vā ne bablers*, *seducers*, *illiterate*: yea *Act. 13.* most sharply inveighes against the false Prophet. Moreover *Erasmus* often used to say. In regard of the height of the diseases of this last age of the world, God hath sent them a sharpe Physitian. Also Charles the Emperour sayd. If the Popes Priests were such as they should be, they would not need a Luther. Further he had divers spirituall tentations and terrible buffers of Satan: as namely in his sicknesse at *Coburg*, and at othertimes, when his body was weake. These much afflicted him, and sometimes made him lie as one dead; but by physick applyed for his cure, and reading the Scripture, and singing of Psalmes, which he used to call them about him unto, he was recovered, and eased of those affrights, and esteemed them but as the Devils traps, from which God would deliver him.

In the dismall warre of Germany, scarce could the souldiers be restrained from exercising their cruelty upon his dead corps. For when *Wittenberg* yeelded to the Emperour Charles: and he came to see the towne, the Spaniards would have digged up Luthers tombe, and burnt his body, Charles the fifth (as faithfull witnesses have related) said. *Suffer him to rest till the day of resurrection, and the Iudgement of all men.*

But in the beginning of Luthers preaching, he minded not to have proceeded so farre, as the issue drew him to. For *An. 1520.* he thus wrote. *I will offer them silence with all humility: so that others be also*

R 3

*silent.*

*Charles the Emperour kept the souldiers from digging up Luthers bones.*

*Tom. 1. ep. Luth. p. 230. b.*

silent. For I will omit nothing on my part, which may conduce to peace: and have ever been carefull so to doe. I will therefore make ready an humble letter to the Pope: If matters prove calme as I hope, it is well: If not, it is well also: for it is Gods pleasure so to have it. He often purposed also to have departed from the Papiſts malice. For thus he writeth to Spalatimus. Had not your letter come to my handes, I had prepared to have gone out of the way. And yet I am ready to be gone, or to stay. And againe, I have not free liberty to speake or write; If I goe hence, I will poure out my whole mind, and offer my life to Christ.

Luther discerned not all truth at first.  
Tom. 1. ep.  
pag. 130.

He daily more and more discerned Gods truth, and could not wind himselfe out of some errours in the beginning presently: for about the invocation of Saints thus he wrote An. 1518. "My good Spalatimus, I never judged, that the worship of Saints was superstitious, nor the praying to them for matters especially pertaining to the body. For thus our neighbours the Pigbards hereticks in Boemsa conceit. For we in better manner obtaine of God by his Saints any good thing ( for assuredly all good is Gods gift ) then others get by Magicians and Wisards of the Devill, as the manner is. But this my meaning was, that it is superstitious, yea ungodly & wicked to beg of God and the Saints things corporall onely, and to neglect the things which concerne the soule and salvation, and are sued for according to Gods will: As if we forgot or beleaved not his word, saying; Seeke first or cheifely the kingdome of God, and all these things



"things shall be added to you. Yea every where  
 "Christ teacheth us to slight corporall matters,  
 "and our bodi's, as base things in regard of our  
 "soules. Concerning the adoration in the Sa-  
 "crament thus he wrote. "I say<sup>a</sup> it is free for us to  
 "adore Christ, and call upon him *sub sacramento*  
 "under the Sacrament. For he sins not, who doth  
 "not adore: nor doth he sinne, who doth adore.  
 Concerning the administration of the Lords Sup-  
 per in the vulgar tongue thus he wrote. "I wish the  
 "Masse<sup>b</sup> might be used in the Mother tongue, ra-  
 "ther then can promise to have it so. Because I can-  
 "not bring it to passe, as being a matter requiring  
 "both Musick and the Spirit. So in the mean time  
 "I permit every man to abound in his own sense;  
 "till Christ inables me to say more. He first cele-  
 brated the Masse in the mother tongue, *An. 1525.*  
 as he writeth to *Langen* and the members of *Erford.*  
*This day we attend the Princes command, the next Lords*  
*day we will publiquesly sing in the name of Christ: and*  
*Masse shall be in the mother tongue for the Lay people.*  
*But the daily service shall be in Latine, but we will have*  
*the Lessons in the vulgar tongue. These things ye shall*  
*have shortly published.*

Luther causes Psalmes in the German tongue to  
 be used. Concerning this thus he wrote to *Spalati-*  
*mus, An. 1524. We intend according to the example of*  
*the Prophets and ancient fathers of the Church, to make*  
*Psalmes or spirituell songs for the common people, that*  
*the word of God may continue among the people, if not*  
*otherwise, yet surely in Psalmes. We seeke for Poets,*  
*where*

\* Tom. 2. ep.  
 pag. 72.

b Tom. 2. ep.  
 pag. 243.

Tom. 2. ep.  
 pag. 302.

Tom. 2. ep.  
 pag. 230.

where we may. Now seeing you have attained both the free use and Elegancy of the German tongue, I intreat you to take some paines with us in this businesse, and try how you can turn a Psalm into verse: as I have given you a pattern. I would have you not to use late invented and courtly termes: But make the verse to fit the simplest and most vulgar capacitie: yet let the words be smooth and proper. Let the sense also be cleare, and as neere as may be to the originall: yet may you use this freedome, as to vary the words sometimes, so that you keep the sense. I cannot performe the worke so neatly, as I would, and therefore desire to try how neere you can come to Herman, Asaph or Jeduthun.

He taught many things soundly and gravely about the Scripture and the authoritie thereof, as, That our faith was to be built on the Canonickall books, the other books required our judgement. Of the word, the Sacraments and Ministers he taught. That we are planters and waterers, and are Ministers of the word of life and Sacraments of salvation: but are not Givers of the increase. Concerning our Justice he said. Thou Lord art my justice: I am sinne. Thou hast taken what I am, and given me, that which was thine. Thou hast taken that which thou wast not; and given me, that which I was not. Concerning ceremonies he said. I condemne no Ceremonies, but those which are contrary to the Gospel. Concerning Moses: As the learned men of the world say; that Homer is the father of all the Poets, the fountain, yea the Ocean of all learning and wisdom, and eloquence: so our Moses is the father and fountain of all the Prophets and sacred books: that is,

of

Tom. 1. epist.  
p. 61.

Tom. 2. epist.  
p. 273.

Tom. 1. epist.  
pag. 11.

Tom. 2. epist.  
pag. 371.

Tom. 2. epist.  
pag. 28.

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of all heavenly wisdom and eloquence. Concerning humane learning. I am perswaded that Theologie could not wholly be kept sincere without the skill of other Arts. For heretofore, when knowledge of other learning was decayed or despised, Theologie did fall and lay neglected most miserably. Nay, I discern that the revelation of Gods Word would never have become so glorious, unlesse first the Tongues and Arts had been brought into use and flourished, and made a way for Divinitie, as John Baptist did for Christ. And elsewhere, I think they erre, and are extremely out of the way, who think the knowledge of Philosophy and of nature to be of no use for Theologie. Of Tentations thus he speaketh. I would have men, who are tempted, thus to be comforted with faith and hope: first to avoyd solitarinesse, and still to have company and to sing Psalmes and talke of holy matters. Then secondly, to be assuredly perswaded, (which though it be most difficult, yet is it the most ready cure,) that those thoughts are not their own, but Satans; and therefore that they should earnestly endeavour to turn their hearts to some other thoughts, and leave those evill thoughts to Satan. For to insist upon them, to strive with them, or to struggle to overcome them, is a provoking and strengthening them, to a mans perdition without remedie. Of men distracted and fooles this was his judgement. "I think that all fooles and such as "have not the use of reason are vexed or led aside "by Satan: not that they are therefore condemn- "ed, but because Satan doth diversly tempt men, "some grievously, some easily; some a longer, "some a shorter time. And whereas Physitions at-

S

"tribute

Tom. 2. epist.  
pag. 307.

Tom. 1. epist.  
pag. 360.

Tom. 2. epist.  
pag. 281.

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Tom. 1. epist.  
Melanct. pag.  
408. to 1.  
Obernburg.

Tom. 1. oper.  
Jen. pag. 280.

Conf. Theolog.  
Melanct. pag.  
438.

Tom. 2. epist.  
pag. 196. &  
250.

"tribute much to naturall causes, and mitigate  
"those evils by naturall meanes sometimes; this  
"cometh to passe, because they know not, how  
"great the power and strength of the devils are.  
Concerning the Assembly at *Ausburg*, whose re-  
membrance *Melancthon* delighted not in, because  
there such as endeavoured the propagation of the  
Gospel were censured by *Charles* the fifth, harshly  
and grievously. Whereunto five *Electors*, thirtie  
Ecclesiasticall Princes, Secular Princes twentie  
three, Abbats twentie two, Earles and Barons thir-  
tie three, and thirtie nine free Cities subscribed;  
Of this assembly, I say, this was *Luthers* judgement;  
"Though after much expence ye see nothing done  
"at *Ausburg*, yet thus I think: though their cost  
"had been double, yet the publique confutation of  
"the sophisters and envious persons would be e-  
"quivalent thereunto: for they sought to disgrace  
"our doctrin with lies, as if it was the most errone-  
"ous that ever was heard. Of it also *Brentius* saith.  
"The cost bestowed in all assemblies within the  
"memory of men are not a sufficient price for the  
"excellent treasure of the Confession and Apo-  
"logy.

Of the Lords Supper thus *Luther* writeth. "I  
"neither can nor will deny this, that if *Carlostadi-  
"anus* or any other man within these five yeeres  
"could have perswaded me, that there was nothing  
"in the Sacrament but bread and wine, he should  
"have done me a singular kindnesse. For I have  
"laboured much and been most studious about  
"this

"this points discussion, I have endeavoured with  
 "all possible intention of minde to cleare and fully  
 "open this matter; because I well saw that hereby  
 "I could especially wound the Papists. Besides I  
 "had two others, who wrote to me more soundly  
 "and acutely of this point, then *Carlostadium*, nor  
 "did sowrest the words to the conceit of their own  
 "humour. But I saw my self fast taken, and had  
 "no way left to escape. For the Text of the Go-  
 "spel is so cleare and powerfull, that it cannot be  
 "shaken, much lesse be overthrown with words and  
 "glosses suggested by addle heads. Of this questi-  
 "on he wrote a large Epistle and indeavoured to  
 "prove *That Christs flesh was not only eaten spiritually,*  
*but corporally.* And whereas elsewhere he speaketh  
 otherwise of this matter, there be some, who affirm  
 that he opened his minde thereof a little before his  
 death. For tis said, that as he was sitting himself  
 for his journey to *Isleben*, Jan. 23. An. 1546. he affir-  
 med to *Melancthon*, that he confessed, that he had gone  
 so farre in the *Sacramentary* controversie. And when  
*Melancthon* perswaded him to explicate his minde  
 by publishing some book: he answered, that by this  
 course he should derive a suspition on all his doctrine as  
 faulstie: but *Melancthon* might do as he saw cause, when  
 he was dead. The witnesses of this his speech are  
*Melancthon*, *Herbert de Langen*, *Daniel Burenus*  
*Conf. of Breme* and others.

When *Antonius Musa* the Pastor of *Roche* on a  
 time complained, that he himself could not believe,  
 what he taught others. Luther answered, I thank God

Tom. 2. epist.  
 pag. 196.

Mellise. Hi-  
 stor. part. 3.  
 pag. 450.



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that I heare others to be affected to the Papiſts doctrine, as I was. He was wont to ſay, that a preacher ſhould beware of bringing three dogs into the pulpit wiſh him, pride, covetouſneſſe, envie. This rule he gave concerning government of ones ſelfe in preaching. When, ſaith he, You ſee the people heare moſt diligently, conclude that they will go away more cheerefully.

He judged them in Princes Courts to undergoe the greateſt labours, who are compelled to drink ſo extreamely, that they cannot reſt night or day. When a Stone was brought unto him out of the Mansfeild Stone-pits: wherein was the image of the Pope with a triple Crown. Lo, ſaid he, the Pope muſt be revealed and extold by Metal Mines, and diggers of Metals.

Three things, ſaid he, make a Divine. Meditation, prayer, tentation. And that three things were to be done by a Miniſter. 1. He muſt read the Bible over and over. 2. Pray earneſtly. 3. Alwayes be a learner. And that they were the beſt preachers to the people, who ſpake as to Babes in Chriſt, in the ordinary ſtrain, popularly and moſt plainly. When he viſited the Churches in Saxony, and a countrey man repeated the words of the Creed in the vulgar tongue, ſaying, I beleve in God the Father Almighty. He asked the countrey man, what was meant by Almighty? who answered; I know not. Luther ſaid, neither do I nor any learned man know it. Onely beleve thou that God is thy father, and that he can and will preſerve thee and thine.

He tooke delight to expreſſe ſome things in his  
OWN

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owne tongue, and in Ryme. Of which some were to this sense and meaning.

*Eate what is sodden well ;  
Drinke what is pure and cleare :  
That thou the truth doth tell,  
To all let it appeare.*

*Speake not to all, what ever thou doest know :  
If thou be well, keepe wisely were thou art :  
Conserve with care, what ever is thine owne,  
Mischance sure-footed comes like th' nimble Hart.*

*Be silent in due time, abstaine, sustaine,  
Hold up thy head. Of need to none complaine.  
Despaire not of Gods helpe, thy state to stay :  
Who sends assistance to us every day.*

He was in his private converse of such behaviour that his life was a patterne of vertue. As he dined or supped, oftentimes he would dictate matter to be preached ; sometimes correct the faults of the presse, sometimes he would recreate himselfe and others with Musick. He was by nature ( which Melancthon would often wonder at ) a moderate eater and drinker : and yet had no small or weake body : He hath beene scene for foure dayes together and being in health, to eate and drinke nothing at set meale times : and often at other times for many dayes to be content with a little bread and fish. I will say nothing how in the Cloysters he macerated

Luthers private life.

His temperance.

Tom. 1. ep.  
p. 215.

himselfe with watchings, fasting, labours. Oftentimes being invited to banquets, he went not, because he would not lose his time, I, sayd he, *lose too much time by invitations to feasts here in the City: I know Satan hath such an hand in it: that I may not deny it, and yet it doth me harme to accept the courtesy.* In company he was familiar, pleasant, courteous, yet grave, as beseemed a man of his place. He was affable, and studious of truth.

His zeale in  
prayer.

Melancthon affirmeth, that he often found him at prayer with great ardeency and teares imploring God for the whole Church. He set apart every day a certain time for reading some Psalmes, and intermixt his owne *prayers and teares* with them. He often used to say; that he was offended with them, who either through idlenesse or variety of employment sayd, that it was enough to pray with groanes onely. And for that end, said he, formes of prayer are prescribed us by the will of God, that reading might inflame our minds, yea that the voice also might professe, what God we call upon.

His recreati-  
ons.

Tom. 2. ep.  
p. 293. and  
334.

When he recreated his mind, and tooke it of from study, he delighted to play at *Chesse*, and was skilfull at it. He sometimes practised the art of Turning with his servant *Wolfgang*: and would say: *if the world should deny us sustenance for my paines in Gods word, we would learne to get our livings with our hands.* Sometimes he did play on an *Instrument*, sometimes *shoots*. He was carefull also of the neatnesse of his garden, and desired of his friends varietie of plants to furnish it: So that he had no

vacant

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vacant time. *Of his employments thus he writeth. I am very full of employment: the Psalter requireth a whole man: preaching to the people might well require all my paines: my course of worshipping God and prayer might wholly busie me: my paines in expounding Scripture by writing, my writing Epistles, my care of other mens affaires taketh up my time; my converse with my friends (which I use to call a feeding of my corps) doth very badly steale away a great part of my time. It was his usuall course either to meditate, or to read, or preach, or to give good counsel to his friends: so that he was never idle.*

He was very liberall to the poore. On a time when a student asked some money of him, he bad his wife give him some thing: and when she excused the matter in regard of their penurie at that time: he tooke up a silver cup and gave it to the Scholler, and bid him sell it to the Gold-smith, and keep the money for his occasions. When a friend sent him 200. angels of gold from the metal-mines, he bestowed them all on poore students: When John the Electour gave him a new gowne: he said, *that he was made to much of: for if here we receive a full recompence of our labours, we shall hope for none in another life.* When the same Electour offered him a vayne of Metals at Snerberg: he refused it, lest he should incur the temptation of the Devill, who is Lord of treasure under the Earth. He tooke nothing of Printers for his copies, as he writeth, saying. *I have no plenty of money: and thus yet I deale with the Printers: I receive nothing from them for recompence of my many*

Tom. 2. ep.  
p. 365.

Luthers liberality.

Atab. in his  
serm. p. 144.

Tom. 2. ep.  
pag. 342.

How he dealt  
with Printers.

*many copies, sometimes onely I receive of them one copie. This I think is due to me, whereas other writers, yea translators, for every eight leaves have an Angel. Concerning money given him, thus he writeth. The hundredsh Angels given me I received by Tanbenhem: and Schart gave me fifty: that I stand in feare, that God will give me my reward here. But I protested that I would not so be satisfied by him, I will either presently repay it, or spend it. For what should I doe with so much money? I gave one halfe of it to P. Prior, and made him a joyfull man.*

His loving  
affection to  
his children.

He was very lovingly affectioned towards his children, and gave them liberall education: He kept in his house a Schoole-master to traine them up in good arts and a godly life. When he saw Magdalen his eldest daughter ready to die, he read to her that in Esay 26. 19. *Thy dead servants shall rise againe, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust: For thy dew is as the dew of hearbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doores about thee: Hide thy selfe as it were for a little moment, untill the indignation be over-past. My daughter enter thou into thy chamber with peace: I shall ere long be with thee. For God will not permit me to see the punishments hanging over the head of Germany. And upon this wept plentifully. But in publique when he went along with the Herse he bridled his affection, and was not seene to shed one teare. And as all men of excellent spirits have a zealous anger in due place. So Luther by nature was vehement, but yet*

His anger &  
zeale.



yet placable : As appeareth in this, that when *Melancthon* much moved to passion once came unto him, and all the rest were very mute, *Luther* uttered this verse.

*Vince animos iramq; tuam, qui cetera vincis.*  
Thine owne heart overcome, thy fury tame,  
VWho all things els hast stoutly overcome.

And then smiling said, *we will not further dispute of this matter*, and turned his speech to other occasions.

He foresaw and foretold many things, as the combustion which rose in *Germany*; saying, *I am very much afraid, that if the Princes give eare to Duke George his ill counsell, there will arise some tumult, which will destroy all the Princes and Magistrates in all Germany, and ingage in it all the Clergy.* Of the death of *Frederik* Elector of *Saxony*, thus he writeth. *If God in heaven hath resolved in wrath to deale with us, that neither our prayers, nor counsels of amendment can hinder it, let us obtain this that our Josias may sleep in peace, though the world be left to go into its Babylon.*

Of the covetousnesse of *Germany* and the dearth there, thus he speaketh. "We feare famine, and  
"we shall suffer it, and finde no remedie for it. And  
"when as without necessitie, we are solicitous to  
"prevent famine, like wicked and incredulous  
"Gentiles, and neglect the word of God and his  
"work; he will permit shortly a dismall day to  
"come upon us, which will bring with it whole  
"Wain-loads of cares; which we shall neither have

T

"power

*Tom. 1. epist. p.*  
*10. & p. 207.*

*Tom. 2. epist.*  
*pag. 10.*

*Tom. 2. epist.*  
*pag. 207.*

"power or meanes to escape. Divers other things he alſo foretold.

Of Luthers  
Heales.

He had his health competently well, but that ſometimes he was troubled with headach, eſpecially in his elder yeeres. Whereupon he was afraid of ſome violent Apoplexie: and when he felt a ſwimming in his head, or noyſe in his eares, he uſed to ſay: *Lord Jeſu, ſmite me gently, for I am absolved from my ſins according to thy word, and am fed unto life eternall by thy body and blood. Thine Apoſtle John and our Bleſſed were taken out of this world, by this kinde of death.* He endured often tentations, whereupon he ſaid: *Altho there are in health except Luther, who is ſound in body, and without ſuffers at no mans hand in the world: only the Devil and all his Angels vex him.*

Of Luthers  
perſon.

He was of an indifferent ſtature, of ſtrong body, of ſo Lionlike a quickneſſe of his eyes, that ſome could not endure to look directly upon him, when he intentively beheld them. They ſay that one of mild ſpirit, who could not endure in private to talk with Luther, was courteouſly uſed by Luther, yet was ſo pierced with the quickneſſe of his eyes, that being amazed he knew no courſe better then to run from him. His voyce was mild and not very cleare, whereupon, when on a time there was mention at table about Pauls voyce, which was not very perfect and full: Luther ſaid; *I alſo have a lowe ſpeech and pronuntiation.* To whom Melancthon answered. *But this ſmall voyce is heard very farre and neere.*

Of his wife  
and children  
after his  
death.

In wedlock he lived chaſtly and godly above twentie yeers, and when he died, left three ſonnes and

and Catharin de Bora a widow, who lived after his death seven yeeres. To her it was a great grief that her husband died in a place farre from her, so that she could not be with him, and performe the last conjugall offices to him in his sicknesse. In the time of the warre which presently followed, she wandred up and down with her orphans, and in banishment was exposed to many difficulties and dangers: And besides the miseries of widowhood, which are full many, the ingratitude of many did much afflict her: for where she hoped for kindnesse in regard of her husbands worthy and noble deserts of Gods Church, often she was put of with great indignitie. When afterward her house at Wittenberg in time of pestilence was infected, she for her childrens safetie, as became a godly mother, betooke her self to Torg, where was also an Universitie. But in the way, when the horse affrighted ran out and seemed to indanger the waggon, she amazed not so much for her own, as her childrens preservation, leapt out of the waggon, whereby poore wretch she grievously bruised her body in the fall, and being cast into a poole of cold water, caught thereby a disease, of which she lay sick three monethes in banishment, and pining away at length died quietly in the yeere, 1552.

Luthers writings were published at Wittenberg and Iene in severall Towns both in Latine and the German tongue. Part of them were expositions of Scriptures, part doctrinall, part polemicall. Of these this was his own judgement. Above all I beseech the

godly Reader; and I beseech him for our Lord Iesus

Christ

Luthers writings.

Of Luthers  
Health.

"power or meanes to escape. Divers other things he also foretold.

He had his health competently well, but that sometimes he was troubled with headach, especially in his elder yeeres. Whereupon he was afraid of some violent Apoplexie: and when he felt a swimming in his head, or noyse in his eares, he used to say: *Lord Iesu, smite me gently, for I am absolved from my sins according to thy word, and am fed unto life eternall by thy body and blood. Thine Apostle John and our Bl: For were taken out of this world, by this kinde of death.* He endured often tentations, whereupon he said: *All here are in health except Luther, who is found in body, and without suffers at no mans hand in the world: only the Devil and all his Angels vex him.*

Of Luthers  
person.

He was of an indifferent stature, of strong body, of so Lionlike a quicknesse of his eyes, that some could not endure to look directly upon him, when he intently beheld them. They say that one of mild spirit, who could not endure in private to talk with Luther, was courteously used by Luther, yet was so pierced with the quicknesse of his eyes, that being amazed he knew no course better then to run from him. His voyce was mild and not very cleare, whereupon, when on a time there was mention at table about Pauls voyce, which was not very perfect and full: Luther said, *I also have a lowe speech and pronuntiation.* To whom Melancthon answered. *But this small voyce is heard very farre and neere.*

Of his wife  
and children  
after his  
death. \*

In wedlock he lived chastly and godly above twentie yeeres, and when he died, left three sonnes and

## The Death of Dr. Martin Luther.

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and *Catharin de Bora* a widow, who lived after his death seven yeeres. To her it was a great grief that her husband died in a place farre from her, so that she could not be with him, and performe the last conjugall offices to him in his sicknesse. In the time of the warre which presently followed, she wandred up and down with her orphans, and in banishment was exposed to many difficulties and dangers: And besides the miseries of widowhood, which are full many, the ingratitude of many did much afflict her: for where she hoped for kindnesse in regard of her husbands worthy and noble deserts of Gods Church, often she was put of with great indignitie. When afterward her house at *Wittenberg* in time of pestilence was infected, she for her childrens safetie, as became a godly mother, betooke her self to *Torg*, where was also an Univeritie. But in the way, when the horse affrighted ran out and seemed to indanger the waggon, she amazed not so much for her own, as her childrens preservation, leapt out of the waggon, whereby poore wretch she grievously bruised her body in the fall, and being cast into a poole of cold water, caught thereby a disease, of w<sup>ch</sup> she lay sick three monethes in banishment, and pining away at length died quietly in the yeere, 1552.

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*Luthers* writings.



The Death of D<sup>r</sup>. Martin Luther.

His judgement of them  
in the Pref. of  
Tom. 1. Lut.  
Work printed  
at Wittenberg.

Tom. 7. Jen.  
Germ. p. 288.

The Anti-  
monians.

Tom. 3. Jen.  
Germ. p. 69.

*Christ's sake, that he would read my writings judiciously, and with much pittying my case. And let him know, that I was formerly a Monk and a most furious Papist, when I first entred into the cause undertaken by me: yea, I was so drunk & drowned in the opinions of Papisme, that I was most ready to kill all men, if I could, or to assise and consent to their attempts that did kill them, who even in one syllable should dissent from the Pope. Such a Saul was I, as some that be yet alive. I was not so cold and calme in defending Popery as was Eckius and his mates, who more truly for their bellies sake seemed to defend Popery, then that they were serious in the cause: yea they seeme still to me to laugh at the Pope in secret, as Epicureans. But I proceeded in the Popes defence earnestly, because I set before mine eyes the last day of judgement, and trembled thereat: and desired from my very heart to attain salvation. In another of his writings, he in a manner wisheth his books extinct, saying. Alas, my friends should not trouble me: I have enough to do with the Papists, and might almost say with Job and Jeremy, would I had not been born, yea almost say, I would I had not published so many books: and would not care, if they were all perished. Let other such spirited mens writings be sold in every shop, as they desire.*

*Luther also was much against it, that any man should be called a Lutheran after his name. Because the doctrine was not his, neither did he die for any one; and because Saint Paul would not endure to have it done by his own person, 1 Cor. 3. Against this humour of men also. Luther said. How should it come to passe, that I a sack of wormes meat should be necessary to this, that*

## The Death of Dr. Martin Luther.

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that the children of Christ should be called after my base and unworthy name. He also much opposed the title of Lutherans, because we be all Christians, and professe the doctrine of Christ: as also because the Papists are guiltie of this crime, by calling themselves Pontificians. We ought not to imitate them in evill. Of Luthers books thus writeth Sturmius. I remember that in an epistle of Luthers to Wolfgangus Capito, which is in Conradus Huberts Library some yeeres ago I read, That he himself took content in none of his books, but onely in his Catechisme and his book against Free Will.

For a conclusion I will here adde Melancthons judgement concerning the Talents by God bestowed on Luther and others. Pomeranus, saith he, is a Gramarian, and explains the force of words, I intend Logick and shew the context of the matter, and the Arguments, Justus Jonas is an orator, and copiously and elegantly discomfeth: But Luther is all these, a very miracle among men. What ever he saith, what ever he writeth it, peirceth mens minds and leaves behind it a wonderfull sting in their hearts. And Camerarius speaketh thus of Luther. The name of Luther is so odious to some, that they detest the hearing it: on the contrary other endure not that any thing should be found fault with, which either he speak or did: If any man dare speake against him, they declaime against him presently, as one guilty of impiety. They who thus extoll the name and authority of Martin Luther, as not doubting to elevate him above the condition and measure of Mortall men, should see to it, that they doe not wrong the good name of so excellent and admirable a man by attribut-

In his b. of  
Rhetoric. Exiv.

Melancth. in  
Matth. serm.

Camerarius in  
Melancth. life  
pag. 251.

The Death of D<sup>r</sup>. Martin Luther.

ing too much to him : and that they doe not seeme to shelter and protect their audaciousnesse, under his excellency. And those calumniators, who not onely condemne all his writings as ungodly and turbulent, now also, if they had any wit, might remember and consider, what is gotten by bitter envie, contumacy, froward opposition and outrageous clamours.

Wolff. Severus  
of Luther.

Wolfgang Severus Tutour of Ferdinando of Austria, afterward Emperour, wrote a distich encomiastick upon Luther to this purpose.

Of Iaphets race hath Luthers like n'ere been,  
And his superiour, sure, will n'ere be seen.

His Imprese was a Rose and a Crosse, the explication whereof is this.

A Rose and Crosse great Luthers heart disclose.

The Rose, his Ioy, the Crosse, Christs yoke, he chose.

Thus have we described Luthers Life and Death out of his owne and other learned mens writings : in perusing whereof, the Reader is to be intreated ( which thing Luther himselfe requested concerning his whole workes ) to judge well what he readeth, and to consider well, whence Luther came, and at what time he wrote, namely, out of the dark mists of Popery, and when the raies of the Gospel began again to shew themselves.

FINIS.

# Errata.

**P** 45. l. 3. borne at. p. 7. l. 18. *Dominica*. p. 8. l. 9. controversy. p. 10. l. 14. were by *Erasmus* writings. p. 13. l. 4. to *Mal.* p. 17. l. 21. seeing justly pref. p. 21. l. 29. *Braimas*. p. 29. l. 25. *Almaz*. p. 34. l. 28. his letter. p. 37. l. 7. and by my. p. 42. l. 6. name of. p. 56. l. 23. and against Bath. p. 61. *M. Glaci*. p. 64. l. pen. refused. p. 69. l. 4. provoked. l. 5. *Hypocras*. l. 12. *M. Iustitia*. l. pen. *Carola*. p. 66. l. 16. Hesse. p. 68. l. 12. words. p. 68. l. 28. *Priscilian*. p. 69. l. 1. suddenly sick. l. 2. but by the. p. 69. l. 25. sonthus. p. 72. *Pontanus*. l. 26. the ruder sort. p. 74. l. 18. *M. Iustitia*. p. 75. l. 25. *Schourlerius*. p. 78. l. 9. I an like. p. 100. l. 10. whereas. l. 21. *Cruciger*. p. 113. l. 10. in faiths. p. 121. l. 25. *Sturm*. p. 123. *Alexander* l. 29. licers. p. 127. l. 18. the ministers of. l. 25. caused *Psalmes*. p. 132. l. 9. judged.

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NAVY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JAN 10 1892

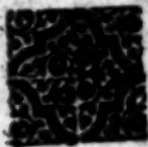


ARTICLES<sup>6</sup>  
EXHIBITED

IN PARLIAMENT  
AGAINST

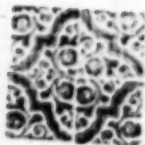
WILLIAM  
ARCHBISHOP  
OF CANTERBURY,

1640.

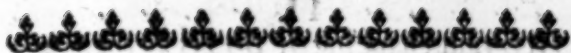


Printed in the years 1640

ARTICLES  
EXHIBITED  
IN PARLIAMENT  
AGAINST  
WILLIAM  
ARCHBISHOP  
OF CANTERBURY.  
1640.



Printed in the year 1640



Articles of the Commons  
assembled in Parliament, in main-

tenance of the accusation,

whereby

**WILLIAM LAUD**

Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, stands  
charged with high Treason.

I.

**T**Hat the said *william Laud*, Arch-  
shop of *Canterbury*, hath traiterously  
laboured to subvert the fundamentall  
Lawes and Government of the Kingdome,  
by giving his Majestie advice privately, and  
at Councell Table, High Commission, and  
in other places said, that he would have them  
governed by Civill Lawes, and further said,  
he would make the proudest subject in the  
Kingdome to give way to him; and being  
told it was against Law, he replied he would  
make it Law, and that the King might at his  
owne pleasure take away without Law, and  
make it warrantable by Gods Law.

B<sup>a</sup>

II. His



(1)

II.

His countenancing of Books & their Authors for the maintenance of his unlimited and absolute power, wherein the power of the Parliament is denied, and the Bishops power of Prelacie set up.

III.

That he traiterously went about to interrupt the Judges by his threatnings, and other meanes, to constraîne them to give false Judgement in the case of Ship-money, as will appeare both by writings, and his hand, by testimony of divers persons of good worth and quality.

IV.

That he hath taken bribes, and sold Justice in the high Commission Court, as Archbishop, and hath not onely corrupted the Judges there, but hath also sold Judicious places to be corrupted.

V.

That he hath endeavoured the encroachment of Jurisdiction and institution of Canons, which are not onely unlawfull, but prejudiciall to the subject; and that he hath exercised his authority very cruelly, both as a Chancellour, Commissioner, and Judge.

VI.

That he hath traiterously assumed a capitall power over his Majesties subjects, denying

(3)  
ing his power of Prelacy as from the King.

VII.

That by false erroneous doctrines, and other sinister wayes and meanes, he went about to subvert Religion established in this Kingdom, and to set up Papistry and superstition in the Church.

VIII.

That by undie meanes and practices hee hath gotten into his hands the power of nominating of Ministers to spirituall promotions, and hath preserved none but scandalous Ministers thereunto, and hath preferred corrupt Chaplains to his Majesty.

IX.

That his owne Ministers, as Heywood, Leyfield, and others, are notoriously disaffected to Religion.

X.

That he hath endeavoured to reconcile us to the Church of Rome, and to that end hath employed a Jesuite and a Papist, and hath wrought with the Popes Agent in severall points.

XI.

That to suppress preaching, he hath suspended divers good men, and hath used unlawfull meanes, by Letters, and other wise, to severall Bishops to suppress them.



## XII.

That hee hath traiterously endeavoured to suppress the French Religion here amongst us, which is the same that we are of, and the Dutch Church, and to set division between them and us.

## XIII.

That he hath traiterously endeavoured to set division betwene the King and the subjects, and hath gone about to bring in Innovations into the Church, and hath induced the King to warre with the Scots, and many upon their death beds to give towards the maintenance of the warre; and hath caused the Clergy to give freely towards the same. And hath brought in many superstitions and innovations into the Church of Scotland, And that he procured the King to breake the pacification, whereby to cause a bloody warre betwene the two Kingdomes.

## XIV.

That to preserve himselfe from being questioned for these and other his traitorous designs, from the first yeare of his Majesties reigne till now, he hath laboured to subvert the rites of Parliamentary proceedings, and to incense his Majesty against Parliaments.

By all which Words, Counsels and Actions, hee hath traiterously laboured to alienate

alienate the hearts of the Kings liege peolpe from his Majesty, to set division betweene them ; and to ruine and destroy his Majesties Kingdomes, for which they impeach him of High Treason against our Sovereigne Lord the King, his Crowne and Dignity.

And the said Commons by Protestations, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other accusation or impeachment against the said *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and also of replying to the answers that he the said Archbishop shall make unto the said Articles, or to any of them ; and of offering proofes also of the premisses, or any of them, or any other impeachment or accusation that shall be exhibited by them, as the cause shall, according to the course of Parliaments require, doe pray that hee the said *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* may bee put speedily to answer for all and every the Premisses, that such proceedings, Examinations, Trials and Judgements, may be upon every of them had and used, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

**F I N I S.**

Alas the hearts of the Kings here people  
from his Majesty, to let division between  
them, and to make us happy in the  
Kingdom, the whole of the Kingdom, and of  
High Treason against our Sovereign Lord  
the King, his Estate and Majesty.  
And the said Comyns, in the year of  
our King's Majesty, the fifth of July, or sixth,  
being at a certain instant, and at a certain  
time, of impeachment against the said  
as a High Treason, and as a  
of giving to the King, that he the said  
Acquittal shall make him to the said Ar-  
cles, of to any of them, and of offering  
proofs, all of the parties, or any of them,  
or any other impeachment or accusation  
shall be exhibited by them, as the cause  
shall, according to the course of Parliaments  
require, do, that he the said William  
shall, and shall of course, may be  
partially to answer for all and every the  
Premises, that lack of Proceedings, Examina-  
tions, Trials and Judgments, may be upon  
every of them had and done, as is agreed to  
Law and Justice.

FINIS

THE  
Diocesans Tryall.

WHEREIN  
ALL THE SINNEWEES  
OF DOCTOR  
Dovvnhams Defence

Are brought into three heads, and  
orderly dissolved.

BY  
M. PAUL BARNES.

Published by  
Dr. WILLIAM AMIS.

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The questions discussed in this Diocesans tryall  
are these:

1. Whether Christ did institute, or the Apostles frame  
any Diocesan forms of Churches, or parishionall  
onely, pag. 1.
2. Whether Christ ordained by himselfe, or by his A-  
postles, any ordinary Pastours, as our Bishops, ha-  
ving both precedency of order, and majority of  
power over others, pag. 24.
3. Whether Christ did immediately commit ordinary  
power Ecclesiasticall, and the exercise of it, to any  
one singular person, or to an united multitude of  
Presbyters, pag. 78.

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Imprinted 1641.

Real Gate 1621







## THE PREFACE.

**M**Any writings, and sermons also have cause to wish that the men from whom they come were lesse known then they are. For then should they be free from much prejudice, and find better acceptance with those that they come to. But I wish nothing more unto this Treatise, which is now coming into the world, then that the Author of it were thoroughly known unto all those that shall meet with it; for then his work would need no borrowed commendation, the title it self carrying authority with it, even to force respect from every honest Reader, if either the sharpnes of wit, variety of reading, depth of judgment, aptnes to teach, holy and pleasant language, heavenly conversation, wise carriage, or any fulnes of grace will so far prevail with him. I doe not abuse good words, or load one with them whom they do not belong to, as many painters of Sepulchrs in their funerall Orations use to do: but speak that in short, which M. Baines his person did largely preach unto all such as came neer unto him; & that which his incomparable writings will sufficiently witnes to futur generations.

Neither is this all that the Authours quality may suggest unto the considerate Reader: but he may arise from this to more important thoughts; especially if the remembrance of M. Baines his worth do occasion him to think of many others like unto him: such as M. Deering, M. More, M. Greenham, M. Perkins, M. Rogers, M. Cartwright, M. Fenner, M. Brightman, M. Parker, M. Philips, M. Hieron, and M. Bradshaw, &c. to speak nothing of those which yet live, nor of D. Reynolds, D. Fulk, and D. Whitakers with many others. For all these being apprehended as men agreeing in one spirit, & having had indeed the spirit of glory resting on them, as their works do shew, together with those letters testimonial which they left written in the hearts of many thousand Christians, it must needs cause at the least an inquiry, what

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the reason should be what such famous men of God could never like wel of our Bishoply courtes in England, nor ever be favoured of them. The case is plaine to all: and the cause is as evident to those that have eyes to see: but no where more apparant then in the person of M. Baines, and the place where he, and others like him were made signes of this antipathie. Cambridge is or should be, as an eye to all our land: so that the alterations that fall out there cannot but be felt of all parts. It is the place of light; the spirituall oppressions which in other corners are covered with darknesse (as all the works of darknesse would be) when past all shame they come to confront the Sunne it selfe, how can they then be hidden?

When M. Perkins had there for many yeares held forth a burning and shining light, the sparks wherof did flie abroad into all corners of the land, and after he had served his time was taken up into heaven, there was none found to meet for to receive, as it were, the torch out of his hand, and succeed him in that great office of bearing it before such a people, as this M. Bains, upon whom also the spirit of that Elias, was by experience found to be doubled. In this station he so demeaned himself for some years, that impietie only had cause to complaine: for all that favoured the waies of God, rejoyced and gloried in him and his Ministry, as a spirituall treasure. But at length the hower of darknes came from Lambeth, when Arch. Bancroft sent M. Harlenet to Visite as they call it, that is (if termes may be interpreted by common practise) to pick the purses of poore men, and to suppress those that are not friends to the Bishops Kingdome. For though in that circuit there were a multitude of unable and notoriously scandalous Ministers, yet none were found worthy of censure, but only M. Baines, of whom the world was not worthy, and one other Preacher like unto him. Now it is hard to say, whether the silencing of him was more odious, or the manner of it shameles. There must be a Sermon (ye know) at such Visitations, for fashion sake, though the Visiter himself can seldom find leasure to make it. This part was therefore appointed to M. Bains by the

### *The Preface.*

the Viscers; that he might either be injured in his words, if he did not apply himself to their humours; or else gratify their ungracious courtes, if he did. But it did not succeed handsonly either way: For he delivered wholetoime doctrine appertaining to the present audience, in such warie manner, that no specious occasion could be taken thereby of questioning his liberty. Yet fairely or foully the malicious intention must not faile. M. Baines having heat his weak body by straining to speak unto a great audience, retired himselfe presently upon his coming down from the Pulpit to provide for his health; which otherwise would have bin indangered. They in the meane time going on with their businesse, as they are wont in the masterly forme of a mucker, called for M. Baines amongst the rest, and upon his not answering, though he was not cited thither as to a Court, but only intreated to preach, as he did, yet for not appearing, he was immediately silenced. Afterward in deed, the Chancellor being informed of that grosse nullity, which was in the sentence, urged him about subscription and conformity; and so to make sure work, silenced him over again. In which businesse he was so conscious unto himselfe of unreasonable and ridiculous dealing, that when M. Baines standing to receive the sentence of a corrupt man, did lift up his heart and eies unto God with a heavenly smiling countenance, as he used, he interpreted that gesture to be a skorne of his authority. This being don, M. Baines was perswaded by his friends to try the Archbishops courtesie, unto whom, when he presented himselfe, at the very first salutation; the gravity and severity of B. Bancroft led him sharply to rebuke the good man for a little black-worke, which was upon the edges of his cuffs, asking him how he durst come before him with such cuffs, telling him very bishoplike, that it were a good turn to lay him by the heels for so doing. After this he would have no more to do with such absurd unreasonable men: but preached sometime where he might have liberty, as his weaknesse of body would suffer; and spent the rest of his time in reading, meditating, praying and writing, saving that upon occasion hee did

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instruct or comfort those which came to him (in private,) wherein he had a heavenly gift. He was indeed all his life after, beside the weakenes of his body pressed with wane, no having (as he often complained to his friends) a place to rest his head in: which me thought was an upbraiding of the age and place where he lived with base regards of piety & learning; yet he never so much as consulted with himselfe, of denying his sinceritie by pleasing the Bishops, of whom and their courtes he was wont to say, *They are a generation of the earth, earthly, and savour not the wales of God.* Which saying of his, they, and some Doctors of Cambridge have since made good, in that they could not indure, that the place from whence they thrust him, should be supplied by other honest men, though they were conformable; but with absolute authority at length forbad it, alledging that Puritanes were made by that lecture: whereas the truth is, that one lecture hath done more good to the Church of God in England, then all the doctors of Cambridge: though I doe not deny, but some of them have wrought a good work.

By this one instance (of which kind I would there were not a 100 in our land) it may easily appeare to the understanding Reader, that here is as much agreement betwixt our Bishops in their managing of Religion (except some a or 3, which went out of their elements, when they ventered on those places) & those powerful Preachers who have bin the chief means of revealing Gods arme unto salvation, as there is betwixt the light which cometh down from heaven, & that thick mist which ariseth from the lowest pit.

But wee need not seeke for demonstrations of the spirit which worketh in our Hierarchie from this opposition, look but at the fruits of it, wher it hath all fulnes of consent, as Cathedrall Pallaces, or Parishes of Bishops and Archbishops residence, such as Lambeth is, where all their canons are in force, and have their full sway without contradiction: nay come neerer unto them, and take a view of their families, even to them that wait in their chambers, and see what godlinesse there is to be found. Have there not more of God and his Kingdome appeared in some one Congregation

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gation of those Ministers which they have silenced for un-conformity then in all the Bishops families that are now in England? Was there ever any of them that could endure such a Parish as Lambeth is, if they had such power of re-forming it as the Archbishops have?

To returne therefore unto our Authour: whilst he lived a private life, being thus stricken with the Bishops Planet, he had time to apply his able wit and judgement unto the discussing of many questions, which if the Prelates had not forced such lecture upon him, it may be he would have passed by with others. And among the rest, by Gods providence he was directed to these Ecclesiastical Controversies which concerne our Diocesan state in England: wherein, as in all other questions which he dealt in, he hath shewed such distinct and piercing understanding together with evidence of truth, as cannot but give good satisfaction to him that in these things seeketh light.

He might indeed have chosen other particular corruptions to have written on, if it had bene his purpose either to have taught men, what they daily see and feel, or to have laboured about the branches, and leave the root untouched: But it was no delight unto him, for to prove that which no man doubted of, as that the common course and practise of our Prelates, their courts, their urging of subscriptions, with human superstition & ceremonies, are presumptuous insolencies against God and his Church: or preposterously to begone at the end of the streame for to cleape the water. He chose rather to search the fountain of all that foules wherewith our Churches are soiled: which he judged to be found in the constitutions here in this Treatise examined. And if these few questions be wel considered, it will appear that a multitude of pernicious abuses doe depend on those positions which in them are confuted. One fundamentall abuse in our Ecclesiasticall oppression in the disposing of charges, our placing of Ministers over Congregations: It is called usually bestowing of Benefices or Livings, in an earthy phrase which favoureth of the base corruption commonly practised. For Congregations ought not to be bestowed on Ministers,



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nisters, but Ministers on Congregations: the benefice or benefice of the Minister, is not so much to be regarded, as of the Congregation: It is the calling and charge which every Minister should looke at, not his living and benefice. Now these Benefices are bestowed ordinarily by the Patro (whether Popish, prophane, or religious, all is one) & the Bishop, without any regard of the peoples call or consent: so as no lawful marriage is made; no servant placed: against all Scripture, Councils and antient examples. Whereby it cometh ordinarily to passe, that Lawyers must determine of Ministers callings, after long sutes and great charges, as if Congregations and Farms were held by one title and right. And sometime it is found that the Minister is a continuall plague unto his people, living in contention, spire & hatred with them, as many law-suits do too too plainly witness. What is the reason? Because Parishes are esteemed as no Churches that ever were ordained by Christ, or received any power and priviledges from him, but as mans creatures, and by man to be ordered as it pleaseth him. Another practice of like nature with the former, is that the minister being called to one Congregation, becommeth a Pluralist by taking another, or more livings, in spite of that Congregation, to which he was first and is still personally tied. And after this he may be a nonresident, abiding or Preaching at none of his many livings. Nay he may chop and change, sell and buy like a marchant, so he do it clotely; which is such an abomination, as Rome and Trent condemneth, and hell it selfe will scarce defend. What is the ground? Because (forsooth) Christ hath not appointed Parishes, their officers & offices, and therefore no man is bound further in this kinde, then mens Laws, canons, customes, and injunctions do prescribe unto them. For a grave Doctor of Cambridge answered one that questioned him for his grosse non-residencia, viz. that Parishes were divided by a Pope: insinuating as it seemeth, that he accounted it a point of Poperie, for to tie Ministers unto their particular charges.

A third grosse corruption is, that the officers in Congregations, Ministers, Church-wardens, &c. are made servants to the

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the Bishops, Chancellours, Archdeacons, &c. being, as it were, their promoters, informers, and executioners, in all matters of jurisdiction and government, for to bring in money into their purses: for performance also of which service to them, the Church-wardens upon every occasion are enforced to take such corporall oathes as not one of them doth ever keep. What other ground of this, beside the fore-mentioned, that particular Congregations are no spirituall incorporations, and therefore must have no officers for government within themselves?

Now all these confusions with many others of the same kind, how they are condemned in the very foundation of them, M. Bains here sheweth in the first question, by maintaining the divine constitution of a particular Church, in one Congregation. In which question he maintaineth against his adversaries a course not unlike to that which Armachanus, in the daies of King Edward the third, contended for against the begging Friers in his booke called *The defence of Curates*: For when those Friers inroached upon the priviledges of Parochiall Ministers, he withstood them upon these grounds; *Ecclesia Parochialis juxta verba Moysi Deut. 12. est locus electus a Deo, in quo debemus accipere cuncta qua praecepit Dominus ex Sacramentis. Parochus est ordinarius Parochiani: est persona a Deo precepta, vel mandato Dei ad illud ministerium explendum electa*: which if they be granted, our adversaries cause may goe a begging with the foresaid Friers.

Another sort of corruptions there are, which though they depend upon the same ground with the former, yet immediately flow out of the Hierarchie. What is more dissonant from the revealed will of Christ in the Gospell, even also from the state of the Primitive Church, then that the Church and Kingdome of Christ should be managed as the Kingdomes of the world, by a Lordly authority, with externall pompe, commanding power, contentious courts of judgment, furnished with chancellors, officials, communiaries, advocates, proctors, paritors, and such like humane devices? Yet all this doth necessarily follow up-

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on the admitting of such Bishops as ours are in England: who not onely are Lords over the flock, but doe professe so much in the highest degree, when they tell us plainly, that their Lawes or Canons doe binde mens consciences. For herein we are like the people of Israel, who would not have God for their immediate King, but would have such Kings as other Nations: Even so the Papists, and we after them, refuse to have Christ an immediate King in the immediate government of the Church; but must have Lordly Rulers with state in Ecclesiasticall affaires, such as the world hath in civill.

What a miserable pickle are the most of our Ministers in, when they are urged to give an account of their calling? To a Papist indeed they can give a shifting answer, that they have ordination from Bishops, which Bishops were ordained by other Bishops, and they, or their ordainers by Popish Bishops: this in part may stop the mouth of a Papist: but let a Protestant which doubreth of these matters move the question, and what then will they say? If they flie to popish Bishops, as they are popish, then let them goe no longer masked under the name of Protestants. If they alledge succession by them from the Apostles, then (to say nothing of the appropriating of this succession unto the Popes chaire, in whose name, and by whose authority our English Bishops did all things in times past) then I say they must take a great time for the satisfying of a poore man concerning this question, and for the justifying of their station. For untill that out of good records they can shew a perpetuall succession from the Apostles unto their Diocesan which ordained them, and untill they can make the poore man which doubreth, perceive the truth and certainty of those records, (which I wispe they will doe at leisure) they can never make that succession appeare. If they flie to the Kings authority, the King himselfe will forsake them, and deny that he taketh upon him to make or call Ministers. If to the present Bishops and Archbishops, alas they are as farre to seeke as themselves, and much further. The proper cause of all this misery

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miserie is the lifting up of a lordly Prelacy, upon the ruines of the Churches liberties.

How intollerable a bondage is it, that a Minister being called to a charge, may not preach to his people except he hath a licence from the Bishop or Archbishop: Cannot receive the best of his Congregation to communion if he be censured in the spirituall Courts, though it be but for not paying of six pence which they required of him in any name, be the man otherwise never so innocent: nor keep one from the communion, that is not presented in those Courts, or being presented is for money absolved, though he be never so scandalous: and must often times (if hee will hold his place) against his conscience put backe those from communion with Christ, whom Christ doth call unto it (as good Christians if they will not kneele) and receive those that Christ putteth backe, at the command of a mortall man.

What a burthen are poore Ministers pressed with, in that many hundreds of them depend upon one Bishop and his Officers: they must hurry up to the spirituall Court upon every occasion, there to stand with cap in hand, not onely before a Bishop, but before his Chancellour, to be railed on many times at his pleasure: to be censured, suspended, deprived, for not observing some of those canons which were of purpose framed for sinners, when far more ancient and honest canons are every day broken by these Judges themselves for lucre sake, as in the making of Utopian Ministers, who have no people to minister unto; in their holding of commendams, in their taking of money, even to extortion, for orders and institutions: in their symony, as well by giving as by taking: and in all their idle, covetous, and ambitious pompe? For all these and such like abuses, we are beholding to the Lordliness of our Hierarchy: which in the root of it, is here overthrown by M. Bayne, in the conclusions of the second and third Question. About which he hath the very same controversie, that Marsilius Patavinus in past undertooke long since, about the time of Edward the second, against the Pope.

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For he in his booke called *Defensor pacis*, layeth the same grounds that here are maintained. Some of his words, though they be large, I will here set downe for the Readers information. *Potestas clavium sive solvendi & ligandi, est essentialis & inseparabilis Presbyterio in quantum Presbyter est. In hac auctoritate, Episcopus à Sacerdote non differt, teste Hieronymo, imo verius Apostolo, cuius etiam est aperta sententia. Inquit enim Hieronymus super Mat. 16: Habent quidem eandem judicariam potestatem alii Apostoli, habet omnes Ecclesia in Presbyteris & Episcopis: proponens in hoc Presbyteros, quoniam auctoritas hac debetur Presbytero, in quantum Presbyter, primo, & secundum quod ipsum. &c.* Many things are there discoursed to the same purpose, dict. 2. c. 15. It were too long to recite all. Yet one thing is worthy to be observed how he interpreteth a phrase of Ierome so much alledged, and built upon by the Patrons of our Hierarchy. Ierome saith ad Evagr. that a Bishop doth nothing, excepting ordination, which a Presbyter may not doe. Of this testimony D. Downan avoucheth, that nothing can be more pregnant then it; to prove that Bishops were superiour to Presbyters in power of ordination. But heare what this ancient Writer saith, *Ordinatio non significat ibi potestatem conferendi, concolationem sacrorum ordinum: sed oeconomicam potestatem regulandi vel dirigendi Ecclesiam visum, atque personam, quantum ad exercitium divini cultus in templo; unde ab antiquis legumlatoribus vocantur Oeconomi reverendi.*

It would be over long to declare all the use which may be made of this Treatise, which being it selfe so short, forbiddeth prolixity in the Preface. If the Author had lived to have accomplished his purpose in perfecting of this worke, he would (it may be) have added such considerations as these: or at least he would have left all so clear, that any attentive Reader might easily have concluded them from his premisses. For supply of that defect, these practicall observations are noted: which with the dispute it selfe, I leave to be pondered by the consciorable Reader.

W. Ames.

The





THE FIRST  
**QUESTION IS,**  
 WHETHER CHRIST DID INSTI-  
 TUTE OR THE APOSTLES  
 frame any Diocesan forme of Churches,  
 or Parishionall onely.

**F**OR determining this Question, we will first set down the Arguments which affirme it. Secondly, those which deny. Thirdly, lay down some responsive conclusions, and answer the objections made against that part we take to be the work.

Those who affirme the frame of Diocesan Churches, vouch their Arguments: partly from Scripture, partly from presidents, or instances sacred and Ecclesiasticall. Finally, from the congruity it hath with reason, that so they should be constitute.

The first objection is taken from comparing those two Scriptures, Titus 1. 5. Act. 14. 23. *Ordaine Elders City by City. They ordained Elders Church by Church.* Hence it is thus argued. They who ordained that a City, with the Suburbs and regions about it, should make but one Church, they ordained a Diocesan Church. But the Apostles, who use these phrases as *equipollent*, *To ordaine Presbyters in every City,* and *to ordaine them in every Church*, appointed, that a city with the suburbs and region about it, should make but one Church. Ergo, the Apostles constituted a Diocesan Church.

The reason of the proposition is; because Christians converted in a City, with the suburbs, villages, and countries about it, could not be so few, as to make but a Parishionall Church. The Assumption is cleare, for these phrases are used, as *ad equate*, and being so used, needs it must be that the Apostles framed cities, suburbs, and regions into one church.

2. They argue from examples Sacred and Ecclesiasticall. Sacred are taken out of the old and new Testament. Ecclesiasticall, from the Primitive times, and from Patternes in our owne times: yes, even from such churches, as we hold reformed, as those in Belgia and Geneva.

To beginne with the church of the Jewes in the old Testament, whence they reason thus. That which many particular Synagogues were then (because they were all but one Common-wealth, and had all but one profession) that many many christian churches now bee upon the like grounds. But they then, though many Synagogues, yet because they were all but one Kingdome, and had all but one profession, were all one nationall church. Ergo, upon like grounds many churches with us, in a nation or city, may be one nationall or Diocesan church.

Secondly, the church of Jerusalem in the New Testament is objected. 1. That which the Apostles intended should be a head church to all Christians in Judea, that was a Diocesan church. But this they did by the church of Jerusalem. Ergo: 2. That which was more numbersome, then could meet Parishionally, was no Parishionall but Diocesan church. But that church was such. First, by growing to 3000. then 5000. *Act. 2.41. & 4.4.* then to have millions in it, *Act. 21.20.* Ergo, the church of Jerusalem was not a Parishionall, but a Diocesan church.

Thirdly, the church of Corinth is objected to have beene a Metropolitan church. He who writing to the church of Corinth, doth write to all the Saints in Achaia with it, doth imply that they were all subordinate to that church. But this doth Paul, *1 Cor. 1.2.* Ergo. Secondly He who saluteth jointly the Corinthians and Achaians, and calleth the church of Corinth by the name of Achaia, and names it with preheminance before the rest of Achaia, doth imply that the church of Corinth was the Metropolitan church to which all Achaia was subject. But the Apostle doth this, *1 Cor. 9.2. & 11.2.9.10.* Ergo.

Fourthly, that which was the mother city of all Macedonia, the church in that city must be, if not a Metropolitan, yet a Diocesan church. But Philippi was so. Ergo.

The fifth is from the churches of Asia, which are thus proved, at least to have beene Diocesan. 1. Those seven churches which contained all other churches in Asia strictly taken, whether in city or country; those seven were for their circuit, Metropolitan, or Diocesan churches. But those seven did containe all other in Asia. Ergo. 2. He who writing to all churches in Asia, writeth by name, but to these seven, he doth imply, that all the rest were contained in these. But Christ writing to the seven, writeth to all churches

churches in Asia, not to name that five of these were Metropolitane cities, viz. Philadelphia, and Pergamus, two Diocesan at least. 3. He who maketh the singular church he writeth to, to be a multitude of churches, not one onely (as the body is not one member onely) hee doth make that one church, to which he writeth in singular, to be a Diocesan church. But Christ in his Epiphonematicall conclusion to every church, which he had spoken to in singular, doth speake of the same as of a multitude. *Let him that hath eares, heare what the spirit saith to the Churches.* Ergo.

Thus leaving sacred examples, we come to Ecclesiasticall.

First, in regard of those ancient churches, Rome, Alexandria. It is impossible they should bee a Parishionall congregation 100. yeares after Christ. For if the multitude of christians did in Hierusalem so increase within a little time, that they exceeded the proportion of one congregation, how much more likely is it that christians in Rome and Alexandria did so increase in 100. yeares, that they could not keep in one particular Assembly? But the first is true. Ergo, also the latter. Which is yet further confirmed by that which Tertullian and Cornelius testifie of their times.

To come from these to our moderne reformed churches, these prove a Diocesan church. That respect which many congregations distinct may have now assembled in one place, that they may have severed in many places. For the unity of the place is but extrinsicke to the unity of the congregation. But many distinct congregations gathered in one city, may make, wee say, one church, as they doe in the Netherlands. Ergo, distinct congregations, severed in divers places may make one church. If many churches, which may subject themselves to the government of one Presbytery, may so make one, they may subject themselves to a bishop and cathedrall consistory, and so make one. But the 24. churches of Geneva, and the territories belonging to it, doe subject themselves to the government of one Presbytery, and so make one. For so farre as two meete in a third, they are one in it. Ergo.

The third principall Argument is from reason. If city churches onely, and not the churches of Villages, and country Townes, had bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons placed in them, then were those city churches Diocesan churches. But city churches onely had these. Ergo, city churches were Diocesan, distinguished from Parishionall churches. The Assumption is proved first by Scripture, Titus 1. 5. Act. 14. 23. Secondly, this is proved by Ecclesiasticall Story. They who are given to labour the conversion of the Regions, rather then tend those already converted, they were not given to a Parishionall church. But the

Presbyters



Presbyters planted by the Apostles were so. Ergo, They who were set in a church before Parishes were, could not be given to a Parishionall church. But such were the Presbyters of the Apostles institution, Ergo. For it is plaine in the practice of all ages, from the first division, that no church but the mother church had a Presbytery and a bishop, but Presbyters onely. Nay, it was ever by counsels condemned, and by the judgement of the ancient forbidden, that in Townes or Villages, any but a Presbyter should be planted. 3. This is also proved by reason, for it was no more possible to have bishops and Presbyters in every Parish, then to have a Maior and Aldermen (such as we have in London) in every Towne. 2. If every Parish had a Presbyter, then had they power of ordination, and furnishing themselves with a Minister, when now they were destitute. But they were alwaies in this case dependant on the city. Ergo, there was then a Diocesan church having government of others. Presbyters could not ordaine, *sede vacante*, though they did at first, as in the church of Alexandria. Let any shew for 400. yeares a Parishionall church with a Presbytery in it.

Now we must muster those forces which oppose these Diocesan churches, allowing onely such churches to bee instituted of Christ, which may meet in one congregation ordinarily.

The word which without some modification super-added, doth signifie onely such a company as called forth, may assemble Politically, that word being alone, doth signifie such a church as may to holy purposes ordinarily meete in one. But the word *Church*, which Christ and his Apostles did institute, is used indefinitely, and signifieth no more, Ergo. *Ubi lex non distinguit, non est distinguendum*. 2. The Scripture speaketh of the churches in a Kingdome or Province, alwaies in the plurall number, without any note of difference, as equall one with the other. Ergo, it doth not know Provinciaall, Nationall, or Diocesan churches. Let a reason be given, why it should never speake in the singular number, had they beene a singular church.

Secondly, let us come to examples: the churches the Apostles planted were such as might and did congregate.

First, that of Hierusalem, though there were in it toward 500. *Synagogues*, yet the christian church was but one, and such as did congregate into one place ordinarily after the accesse of 5000. to it. Act. 2.46. & 5.12. & 6.1. & 15.25. & 21.22. & 25.22. For their ordinary meeting, as it is, Act. 2.46. daily, could not be a Panegericall meeting. Again, if they might meete Synodically, why might they not meete then in daily course; though the universall meeting of a church is not so fully called Synodical: And though they

they are said to be millions of beleevors, yet that was by accident of a circumstance, happily the Pasleover. We must not judge the greatnesse of a water by that it is, when now it is up and swelleth by accident of some inundations. They had not a settled state there, by which they did get the right of being set members. Yea, it is likely, they were and continued but one congregation. For forty yeeres after they were not so great a multitude, but that *Pella*, like to the *Zibor* of Lot, a little Towne could receive them. But more of this in the answer to the objection.

- \* Secondly, so the Church of Antiochia, was but one Church, Acts 14. 27. they are said to have gathered the Church together. Object. That is, the Ministers, or representative Church. Ans. 1. For Ministers onely, the Church is never used. 2. By analogie, Acts 11. *Peter* gave account before the whole Church, even the Church of the faithfull. Ergo. 3. They made relation to that Church, which had sent them forth with prayer and imposition of hands, and this Church stood of all those who assembled to the publike service and worship of God. 4. The people of the Church of Antioch were gathered together to consider of degrees sent them by the Apostles from Hierusalem. *τὸ πλῆθος*.

Thirdly, the Church of Corinth was one congregation, which did for the service of God, or exercise of Discipline meet together, 1 Cor. 5. 4. 1 Cor. 14. 25. vers. 26. 1 Cor. 11. 17. vers. 23. *in uno & eodem loco*. That whole Church which was guilty of a sinner uncast forth, could not be a Diocesan Church, neither can the word *ἐκείνη* *κοινωνία* *τοgether*, ever be shewed to signifie any thing else, besides one particular Assembly.

Fourthly, the Church of Ephesus was but one flocke. First, it is likely that it was of no other forme then the other. Secondly, it was but one flocke; that flocke which Presbyters might jointly feed, was but one. They had no Diocesan Bishop. If Presbyters onely, then none but Parish onall Churches in and about Ephesus. There may be many flocks, but God ordained none, but such as may wholly meet with those, who have the care of feeding and governing of them. *Peter* indeed, 1 Pet. 5. 2. calleth all those he writeth to, one flocke: but that is in regard either of the mysticall estate of the faithfull, or in respect of the common nature which is in all Churches one and the same: but properly, and in externall adunation, one flocke is but one congregation. Thirdly, Parishes according to the adverse opinion, were not then divided. Neither doth the long and fruitfull labours of the Apostles argue, that there should be Parish Churches in Diocesan wise added; but a greater number of sister Churches. But when it is said that all Asia did heare: the



meaning is, that from hand to hand it did runne through Asia, so as Churches were planted every where, even where *Paul* came not, as at Colosse. There might be many churches in Asia, and many converted by *Peter* and others fruitfull labour without subordination of churches.

Examples Ecclesiasticall. 1. *Ignatius* exhorteth the church of the Ephesians, though numberlesse, to meete together often in one place, Epist. to the Ephesians, and to the Philippians: where the Bishop is, let the people be gathered to him, as where Christ is, there is the whole host of heaven. He calleth his church of Antioch a Synagogue of God, which cannot agree to a Diocesan church: For these were particular congregations, opposed as to that Nationall church, so to all Provinciaall and Diocesan. Neither doth he call himselfe Bishop of Syria, but as he was, Bishop of the congregation in Syria, as a Minister stileth himselfe a Minister of the church of England.

2. *Iustine* and *Irenaeus* knew no kinde of church in the world which did not assemble on the Sabbath. But a Diocesan church cannot.

3. *Tertullian* Apol. cap. 39. doth shew that all churches in his time did meet, and did worship God, in which prayers, readings, exhortations, and all manner of censures were performed. Hee knew no churches which had not power of censures within themselves.

4. Churches are said at first to have beene Parishes, and Parishes within cities, in Euseb. lib. 3. 44. lib. 4. cap. 21. lib. 2. cap. 6. lib. 4. cap. 25. and Saint Iohn lib. 3. cap. 23. such to the Bishop, *reddo juvenem quem tibi ego & Christus tibi Ecclesia tua tradidimus*. That church in whose presence *John* might commit his *depoſitum*, or trust, was but one congregation, lib. 4. cap. 11. *Hippolytus* and *Pius* are said to have undertaken the Ministry of the church of Rome: which church was such therefore, as they might minister unto, lib. 7. 7. *Dionysius Alex.* writeth to *Xistus*, and the church which he governed. A Diocesan church cannot receive letters. Before *Julian* and *Demetrius* his time, there is no mention of churches in a Bishops parish. The church of Alexandria was within the citie, lib. 7. cap. 2. *Cornelius* is said, *officium Episcopi implevisse in civitate Rome ex Cyp. lib. 1. epist. 3.* *Cornelius Fastidiosum ex Ecclesia populi qui cum tamen de provincia pellere non poterit. Vide Rufinum, lib. 1. cap. 6. suburbicarium Ecclesiarum tantum curam gessit.* *Cyprian* was Pastor *Parochiae in Carthagine*, of the Parish in Carthage, Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 3. *ex verbis Cypriani*, lib. 1. epist. 4.

5. It is the rule of Scripture, that a Bishop should be chosen in sight of his people. Bishops were chosen long after by the people.

As of Rome, and others by the people committed to them. Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 1. Neighbour Bishops should come to the people over whom a Bishop was to be set, and chose the Bishop in presence of the people. Schismes were said to be from thence, *Quod Episcopo universa fraternitas non obtemperat*, Cypr. epist. 55. *tota fraternitas i. unita congregationis tota multitudo, ex qua componitur Ecclesia particularis. Scilicet de universa fraternitatis suffragio Episcopatus fuit delatus.* Cypr. lib. 1. epist. 47. 58, 68. *Ecclesia igitur circumsus non fuit messor, quàm ut Episcopus totam plebem suam in negotiis huiusmodi convocare posuerit.* Soc. lib. 7. cap. 3. de Agypto. *Convocavit omnem clerum & populum qui erat intra illius jurisdictionem.*

6 The Chorepiscopi were Bishops in Villages; there is no likeness of the other notation. Their adversaries in opposing them never object that they were as Delegates, or Suffragan Bishops to them.

7 Bishops were wont to goe forth to confirme all the baptized through the Diocese.

8 They were neighbours, and might meet a dozen, six, three, in the cause of a Bishop.

9 They were united, sometimes in Provinciaall Councils, in which many Bishops met twice yearly, *Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 6. Vidor Vicensis* reporteth in a time when they were fewest in Africa in persecution Vandalica, 660. fled to save themselves. *Austin* saith there were innumerable orthodox Bishops in Africa: and the Provinciaall Councils doe confirme the same.

Now by reason it is cleare that churches were not Metropolitan or Diocesan.

1 That church whose causes are wanting, that church is wanting. But in a Diocesan church causes are not to be found. *Ergo.*

First, the efficient cause, God ordeyning. For none can take on him to be a minister *Diocesan*: no place to be a place, where the Assembly Diocesan should be held; no people can worship God in repairing to this place and ministry, without warrant of his word. *Ergo.* In the Nationall church of the Jewes, *Aaron* and his sonnes tooke not that honour, it was given them: The place of the Nationall meeting, God chose Hierusalem. The people he precisely bound to practise some ordinances of worship no where but there, and to appeare there before him. Secondly, the matter of a Diocesan church is people within such a circuit, obliged to meet at least on solemnne dayes, wheresoever the Diocesan Ministers and Ordinances of worship are exercised; Pastors who have callings to tend them and minister to them in this Diocesan meeting now assembled. Finally, the actuall meetings of them to such end, as such more solemnne and publike meetings are ordained to, are no where commanded,

manded, nor in any fashion were ever by any warrant of the Word practised.

If any say, these are not the causes of a Diocesan Church, but an ordinance of God binding persons within such a circuit to subject themselves to such a Church and the ministry thereof, that they may be governed by them

I answer. First, there is no ordinance of God for this, that can be shewed, that Churches within such a circuit should be ryed to a certaine head Church for government. Nay, it is false. For every Church by Christs institution hath power of government; and the Synagogue had in ordinary matters, the government that the Church of Jerusalem had; (being all over) except onely in some reserved causes. Secondly, I say, that this will not make a Diocesan Church formally so called. As a Nationall Church could not formally be without binding the whole Nation to exercise ordinances of worship in the head Church of it: So by proportion. Yea, government is a thing which doth now *accidere* to a Church constituted, and doth not essentially concur as matter or forme to constitute a Church of this or that kinde. Againe, were this true, that the Diocesan Pastors and Ministers have onely government committed to them, then it will follow, that they onely have the governing of particular Churches, who are not any way Pastors of them, ministering Word and Sacraments to them. But this is most absurd, that their proper and ordinary Pastors, who dispence Word and Sacraments to them, should not have *potestatem pasci*, nothing to doe in governing those flocks which depend on them. If any say, they were not *alii*, but they were *virtute potentie*: I say, it is also to make the Apostles Churches imperfect: and how can this be knowne but by a presumed intention, which hath nothing to shew it, but that after event of things.

From the effect I argue.

2 Those Churches which Christ did ordaine, and the Apostles plant, might ordinarily assemble to the ordinances of worship. But a Diocesan Church cannot ordinarily assemble. *Ergo*. For when God will have mercy and not sacrifice, and the Sabbath is for man, he will not for ever ordaine a thing so unequall and impossible, as is the ordinary assembling of a Diocesan multitude. If any distinguish the assumption, and consider a Diocesan as she is in her parts, or as she is *a totum*, standing of her parts now collected together, and say she may, and doth meet and communicate, and edifie her selfe in the first respect. I answer. This is nothing, and doth prove her to be nothing, as she is a Diocesan Church: *quia quid quid est, agit secundum quod est*. If therefore a Diocesan Church were a real Church, she must have the effect of such a Church; to wit, assembling

assembling, as she is Dioceſan. The Synagogues through Iſrael meet Sabbath by Sabbath, but were no Nationall Church in this regard; that is to ſay, as it is a Nationall Church, it had her Nationall reall meetings.

I reaſon thirdly, from the ſubject.

3 That Church which doth *per ſe*, eſſentially require locall bounds of place, that muſt have locall limits ſet forth of God. But a Dioceſan Church doth ſo. *Ergo*. Whence I thus inferre, He who inſtitutes a Dioceſan Church, muſt needs ſet out the locall bounds of this Church. But God hath not ſet out any locall bounds of the Church in the New Teſtament: *Ergo*. He hath not inſtituted any Dioceſan Church. The propoſition is certaine: for this doth enter in the definition of a Dioceſan Church, as alſo of a Nationall. And therefore God inſtituting the Nationall Church of the Jewes, did as in a map ſet forth the limits of that Nation. So alſo if he had inſtituted Dioceſan and Provinciall Churches, he would have appointed locall bounds, if not particularly deſcribed, yet knowne and certaine. But God hath not done this. For the Church of the New Teſtament is not thus tied to places; it being ſo with the power of teaching, and the Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction, that it doth *reſpicere ſubditos* onely *per ſe*, not *terminus locales*. Civill juriſdiction doth *reſpicere ſolum* primarily, the ſubjects on it in the ſecond place. As for that commandement of appointing *Presbyters Citie by Citie*, it is too weake a ſparre for this building. Again, that Church which may be ſaid to be in a Citie, is not Dioceſan. But the Churches which the Apoſtles planted, are ſaid to be in Cities. *Ergo*. If one ſay to the propoſition, they may; becauſe the head Church is in the Citie. *Anſwer*. The Churches the Apoſtles planted are taken for the multitude of Saints united into ſuch a body Eccleſiaſticall. But the multitude of Saints through a Dioceſſe cannot be ſaid to be in a Citie. *Ergo*. The ſoule may be ſaid to be in the head, though it be in other parts; and God in heaven. God, becauſe of his moſt infinite and indiviſible nature: And ſo the ſoule, becauſe it is indiviſible, and is as all of it in every part, not as a thing placed in a place containing it, but as a forme in that which is informed by it. But in things which have quantity, and are part out of another, there is not the like reaſon.

4 From the adjuncts. That Church which hath no time ſet, wherein to aſſemble, is no Church. I ſuppoſe the ground above, that nothing but union of a Dioceſſe in worſhip, can make a Dioceſan Church. But this Church hath no time. Ordinary it cannot have: extraordinary ſolemnities God hath not commanded. *Ergo*, there is no ſuch Church. For if it be a reall Dioceſan Church, it muſt have a reall action according to that nature of which it is. The action forrall of a Church indefinite is to meet and communicate in worſhip. Of

a Nationall Church, is to meet nationally and communicate in or-  
ship. If then it must meet, it must have some time set downe, <sup>sch</sup>ch-  
nary or extraordinary. But God hath done neither. The Chu-  
which the Apostles planted, were in their times most perfect and  
flourishing. But Diocesan Churches were not: for in those times  
they were but in *seminali* infolded, not explicated, as the adversaries  
confesse.

4 That which maketh Gods dispensation incongruous to his  
ministers, is absurd. But a Diocesan frame of Church doth so.  
*Ergo*. That which maketh God give his extraordinary gifts to mi-  
nisters of churches in the Apostles times, when now they had but  
one congregation, and give ordinary gifts onely when now they had  
800. churches under them, is absurd. But this doth the Diocesan  
frame. *Ergo*.

5 The churches throughout which a Presbyter might doe the  
office of a teaching Presbyter, and a Deacon the office of a Deacon,  
were not Diocesan. But every Presbyter might minister in the Word  
and Sacraments throughout the Church to which he was called; so  
might a Deacon tend to the poore of the whole church, whereof  
he was a Deacon. *Ergo*, these were not Diocesan. The reason of  
the proposition is; No Presbyter can through many congregations  
performe ordinary ministry. In which regard the Canon law for-  
biddeth that Presbyters should have many Churches, cap. 10. q. 2. ff. 3.  
*Una plures Ecclesie uni iniquaquam committantur Presbyteris: quia solus  
per Ecclesias nec officium vult persolvere, nec rebus earum necessariam curam  
impendere.*

6 If God had planted Diocesan churches, that is, ordeined that  
all within citie, suburbs, and regions, should make but one Diocesan  
Church, then may not two Diocesses be united into one Church, or  
another Church and Bishop be sit within the circuite of a Diocesan  
Church. But neither of these are so. The judgement of the African  
fathers shew the one, and the Canon law doth shew the other, pag. 2.  
cap. 16. 41. *Ergo*:

7 If God appointed the frame of the church Diocesan standing  
of one chiefe church, others united in subjection: then can there not  
be the perfection of a church in one congregation: But where there  
may be a sufficient multitude deserving a proper Pastor or Bishop, re-  
quiring a number of Presbyters and Deacons to minister unto them,  
there may be the perfection of a church: But in some one congregation  
may be such a multitude. *Ergo*:

8 Those churches which may lawfully have Bishops, are such churches  
as God instituted: But churches in Townes, populous Villages, have  
had, and may have their Bishops. *Ergo*. This is proved by *κατὰ πόλιν*  
every populous Towne, such as our market townes, and others; *γὰρ* by



a *synecdoche*, villages; for there they taught as well as in Cities. There were Synagogues in Villages, as well as in Cities. They excepted against them afterward in unconformity to Law. The testimony of *Zozomen* sheweth what kinde of congregations were they of which *Epiphanius* testifieth. And the fathers of Africa did not require, that a Diocesan multitude, but a sufficient multitude, not through every part, for then they should have had to doe in Citie churches, but in that part of the Diocesse where a Presbyter onely had served the turne, should have their Bishop.

If Diocesan churches, and Provinciall churches be Gods frame, then we had no Churches in Britaine of Gods frame, before that *Austin* was sent by *Gregory* the great. But here were churches from before *Tertullian*, after the same God requireth, at least in their judgments. *Ergo*.

Now to come to open the termes, and lay downe conclusions: whether Diocesan or Parishionall Churches were at the first constitution.

First, the word *Church* we understand here, not *figuratively*; taken *metonymically* for the place, Synecd. for Ministers administering ordinances: but *properly*, for a body politick, standing of people to be taught and governed, and of teachers and governours.

Secondly, it may be asked, What is meant by a Diocesan church? *Answer*. Such a frame in which many Churches are united with one head Church, as partaking in holy things, or at least in that power of government which is in the chiefe Church, for all the other within such, or such a circuit. These phrases of a *Diocesse*, a *Diocesan Bishop*, or *Church*, are all since the time of *Constantine*, yea the two last much later. A Diocesse seemeth from the common-wealth to have beene taken up in the Church, from what time Bishops had Territories, ample demaines, and some degree of civill jurisdiction annexed to them. For a Diocesse by the Lawyers, is a circuit of Provinces, such as the Romans Præsidents had: or *adive*, an administration of those Provinces with jurisdiction. *L. unica. c. ut omnes judicet*. And in the Canon law, sometimes *Provincia* and *Diocesis* are used promiscuously, D. ff. 50. cap. 7. But the ancientest use of this word was to note the Territory, or Countrey circuit, opposed to the Citie. Thus the Countrey churches are called *Diocessana Ecclesia*, *cont. lxx. cap. 8.*

Thus *Baptismates Ecclesie* were contra distinguished to Parishionall. These had every one a Diocesse, and the inhabitants were called *Diocessani*: these Churches had a moiety of houses dwelling in neighbourhood that belonged to them; but at length by a Synecdoche, the whole Church was called a Diocesse; though the Canonicists dispute whether it may be so called, seeing the Diocesse is the

the meaner part by much, in comparison of the Citie, and should not give the denomination to the whole. So at length the Bishop was called *Dioceſanus*, and the Church which had beene called *Eccleſia civiſis*, *matrix*, *utrix*, *Cathedraſis*, grew to be called *Dioceſan*. But here we take a Dioceſan Church for ſuch a head Church, with which all Churches in ſuch a circuit hath reall union, and communion in ſome ſacred things. Now a Dioceſan Church may be put *objeſſivè*, that is, for a Church in which are miniſters and miniſtery for the good of the whole Dioceſſe, though they ſhould never aſſemble, as the worſhip in the Church of Jeruſalem was for all Judea, and profited, though abſent. Or it may be put formally for a body politicke, a congregation of beleevers through a Dioceſſe, with the miniſters of the ſame, having ſome reall union and communion in ſacred things. We deny any ſuch Church.

A Pariſhionall Church may be conſidered *Materially* or *Formally*; Materially, as it is a Church within ſuch locall bounds, the members whereof dwell contiguous one bordering upon the other. This God inſtituted not, for it is accidentall to the Church, may *abſeſſe* and *addeſſe*, a Church remaining one. If a Pariſhionall Church in London ſhould dwell, as the Dutch doe, one ſarre enough from the other, while the ſame beleevers were united with the ſame governours, the Church were not changed, though the place were altered. Secondly, it is put formally, for a multitude which doe in manner of a Pariſh ordinarily congregate; ſuch Churches, and ſuch onely we ſay God erected.

Now for ſome Concluſions, what we agree in, then what ſevers us.

*Concluſ. 1.* Churches of Cities, Provinces, Kingdomes, may be called Dioceſan, Provinciall, Nationall Churches; as the Churches of the world are called Oecumenicall, yea haply not without warrant of Scripture: As 1 Pet. 1. 2. writing to all thoſe diſperſed Churches, ſpeaking of them ſingularly, as of one ſlocke, 1 Pet. 5. 2. The reaſon is, things may be called not onely as they are really in themſelves, but according to ſome reſpect of reaſon, under which we may apprehend them.

*Concluſ. 2.* That there may be a reall Dioceſan, Nationall, or head Church, wherewith others ſhould be bound to communicate more ſolemnly in Word and Sacraments, and in ſome more reſerved caſes concerning their government. This was done in the Church of Judea. Our men are too ſhie, that feare to come to this propoſition, *de poſſe*. I am ſure our adverſaries will grant us, that our Pariſhionall frame might have beene ſo conſtituted.

*Concluſ. 3.* That there cannot be ſuch a frame of Church, but by Gods inſtitution. No Miniſters can take this honour, but they muſt

(as *Aaron*) be called to it. When nothing in nature can have farther degree of perfection, then the author of nature purseth into it; how much more must the degree of perfection and eminence in things Ecclesiasticall, depend on God? We may reason from the Church of *Judea*, as *a pari*, to prove, That there cannot be such a Church, but that all subordinates must communicate with the chiefest head Church in some sacred things, which may make them one Church. Thus there would not have beene a Church Nationall of the *Jewes*, but that all the Nation had union and communion together even in the worship and ordinances of worship. The men onely went up, so the male onely were circumcised: but the female representatively went up in them.

*Objeſt.* It is enough if the communion be in government, which all our opposites grant necessary.

*Answer.* This maketh then rather one in *terroquadam separabili*, then one Church: government being a thing that cometh to a Church now constituted, and may be absent, the Church remaining a Church. The first Churches of *Bishops*, when now they were divided, did keep all other, who were the *Bishops* presbyters strictly so called, and the people also in some communion with the head Church; for in greater solemnities one and other went up thither. See *deus. diſt. 3. diſt. 38.*

*Concluſ. 4.* We agree in this, that Churches were in their first planting, either not actually Dioceſan, being one congregation without any other subordinate, or if they had any, yet were they imperfect, wanting many parts or members of particular Churches, which belonged to them.

That wherein we contradict one another, is, we affirme that no ſuch head Church was ordained either virtually or actually, but that all Churches were ſingular congregations, equall, independent each of other, in regard of ſubjection. Secondly, we ſay, were there a Dioceſan granted, yet will it not follow, that *Parish* churches ſhould be without their government within themſelves, but onely ſubject in ſome more common and transcendent caſes. As it was with the Synagogues and that Nationall Church of the *Jewes*, and as it is betwixt *Provinciall* and Dioceſan Churches. If any ſay there is not the ſame reaſon of a Dioceſan Church and *Pariſhionall*: ſet that hath in it all the perfection of a Church. I answer, not; taken in compriſon to a *Provinciall* Church, it is but a part and member, and hath not perfection, no more then a *parochiall* Church hath, compared with a Dioceſan.

Now followeth to answer the Arguments first propoſed.

To the first, Answer to the propoſition by diſtinction. Thoſe who ordained that the *Civilis* and *ſpirituall* people taken in regard of the

D

whole

whole multitude of the one, and locall bounds of the other, should make but one Church, they did institute a Diocesan church. But those who so instituted a Church in City, Suburbs, Countrey that their number might bee compared fully to one congregation, they did not therefore ordaine a Diocesan Church. Again to the assumption. But those who use *City by City*, and *Church by Church* as equivalent (which the Apostles doe) they ordained that City, Suburbs, and Countrey should make but one Church. I answer by the like distinction. They who use *City by City*, people being taken for the whole multitude within the extent of these locall bounds, as equivalent with *Church by Church*, they may be said to have ordained that city, suburbs and territories, should make but one Church. But thus the Apostles doe not use them, as of equall signification. For the City had a reason of an ample continent, the Church of a thing contained. These phrases are, the one proper, the other metonymicall, and are therefore to bee expounded the one by the other. Hee placed Presbyters *κατὰ πόλιν*, lest we should understand it of the multitude and locall bounds, it is said in the Acts of the Apostles that they placed them *ἐκ κληρείων*, Church by Church: because Presbyters were not given but to Disciples and Christians now converted out of the multitude and locall limites wherewith cities were bounded. Secondly, there is an *ad-equate* acception of these phrases *per accidens*, not because the citie and church was to make but one church, but because the Christians by occasion of their number, not being then too great, were framed into one church; or because by occasion there was yet but one church, not because there was to be but one. Now hee who thus useth them promiscuously, doth imply that one church was as yet constituted, not that there was to be but one through the circuit of city, suburbs, and countrey. Thus likewise it is easily answered to the prooffe of the proposition: For thus the multitude of citizens converted and unconverted, could not be a church of one congregation yet the number of those who in city, suburbs, and territories, were actually converted, was no more then might be ordered into one church and the Apostles framing these into one on the present occasion, did not exclude the after constituting of any other within the same locall bounds.

To the second Argument: and first, the objection from the Nationall church of the Jewes. I answer, denying the assumption. That the Synagogues being many, made one church; because they were all one Kingdome, one possession. For thus there was one Oecumenicall church, when the world was under one

Emperour

Emperour, and of one profession. It is accidentall to the unity of a Church whether the kingdome be one or no. If Israel, when God had divided the kingdome into two, had gone up to Hierusalem, and kept there communion in the worship of that Church, they had still been one Church, though two Kingdomes. If here were as many Kings and Kingdomes as have beene in England, so many as should belong to one Provinciaall Church, should bee one Church, though many Kingdomes. The truth is, they were one Church, because they had union and Nationall communion in the ordinances of worships, which were in that one Church to which they all belonged. The high Priest was their proper Priest, hee made intercession for them, blessed them, they were not to offer any where, but there. If any thinke this cannot bee the Cause, why there were one Church, under the government of one high Priest, for then should *Aaron* have beene as well as *Melchisedech*, a type of Christs Kingly office. I answer there is *Priestly* Prelacy and government, as well as *Princely*. They were under *Aaron* in the former regard, in whch he was a shadow of Christ.

To the second instance of Hierusalem; we deny the proposition. It might be intended for a head and mother Church in regard of order, and yet not bee a Nationall Church having power over others: If it should have beene a head, having power accordingly, as it was a mother Church, it should have beene head to all the world. Secondly, wee deny the Assumption. That the Apostles ever intended, that it should be a head to Christian Churches through Judaea: as it had beene before under the High Priest. That constitution was typical, and may better plead for an universall Christian Church, then for a Nationall. Secondly, there is not the least intimation of Scripture this way. Thirdly, had this Divinity beene knowne, the Fathers would not have suffered, that it should have beene made a Diocesan church, and subjected to Caesars. To the Prosillogisme. The Church which was so numbersome, that it could not meete ordinarily, could not bee a Parishionall Church. This was so. Ergo, &c. To the proposition I answer, That which was by inhabitants, who had *forum domicilium*, so numbersome that it could not meete, I grant it. But so this was not; by accident often many others were there in *transitu*. Secondly, nay wee read that they did meete ordinarily, as is above said, and in that deliberation about which the Church of Antioch did send to them, *Armenus* affirmeth, l. 3. c. 11. *Universam iam communis*.



*Luke* affirmeth the same. As for that of millions of believers, it is certaine, they were not fixed members of this Church. For would *Luke*, who reckoneth the growth of them to five thousand, have concealed so notable accessions, whereby they say, they grew up to 1 know not how many thousands; there is no likelihood. Whether therefore they were such believers as are mentioned, *1 Cor.* 12. or whether by reason of the Passover, or Pentecost, or such like feast, they were in *transitu*, onely there for the present. However it is, there is no likelihood that they were constant members of that Church. Nevertheless, say, they were more then could sitly meet, yet might they be tollerated as in one Congregation. The Apostles seeing such times to ensue, wherein many of them should translate themselves, and be dispersed hither and thither. God seeing it grow a while more ranke and abundant then ordinary Churches are to be, because it was *Ecclesia succulenta*, many of whose branches were to be transplanted in their time. Yea, had there been five thousand settled members, we read of some ordinary Auditories; spoken to by ordinary Pastors, as great; as *Christus* on *Matth.* 24. doth signifie, to his esteeme they might be five thousand that then heard his voyce.

Touching the third instance, As to the first reason, The proposition is denied: for naming the rest of Achaia with them, doth no more signifie this subjection of all Achaians, then in the *1 Cor.* 12. naming all Saints in every place, doth signifie their subjection. The second reason, hath the sequell of the proposition denied: for the contrary is rather true. He who without any note of difference calleth the church of Corinth by the name of Achaia, he doth imply that it is but one particular church: equall with the other churches in Achaia. To the third, the proposition is againe denied, That he that speaketh of all the churches as one, doth imply a metropolitan church. For by the first conclusion we may speake of things not onely as they are really, but according to any respect of reason, under which they are apprehended. Again, the assumption is false: He speaketh not of them as one church, but as divers churches in one Province. But it is named and referred to others. *Ergo*, &c. The sequell is againe denied. For it may be named before other, because it is the most illustrious and conspicuous church; but not because it hath any power over other. Finally, it is too grosse to thinke, that all in Achaia came to Corinth to be instructed and make their contributions, every church using the first day of the weeke when they assembled to make their collections within themselves.

The fourth instance is *Crete*, where the many churches in that Island, so full of cities, are said to be one church of *Crete*, whereof *Titus* was Bishop. Those manifold churches which made but one, whereof *Titus* was Bishop, those were all one Nationall church. But the churches of *Crete*, as saith the subscription, were so. Ergo. Answ. The proposition might be questioned on the ground above: but the assumption is false: proved by a subscription, which is like his proofe, which was brought out of the booke after the Revelation. For first they are not in the Syriacke testament. Secondly, they are not thought of Antiquity ancienter then *Theodoret*. Thirdly, the subscription is false, and most unlikely: For had Paul written from *Nicopolis*, he would have wished *Titus* to come to him to *Nicopolis*, where he was for the present, and meant to winter, rather then have spoken of it as a place from which he was absent, and whether he meant to repaire.

The fifth instance. *Phillip. 3.* That church, which was in the chiefe citie of *Macedonia*, must needs be at least a *Diocesan*. But the church of *Phillippi* was so. Ergo. This will prove an argument, when churches must needs be conformed to the civill regency of the Emperour: his four chiefe Governours called *praefecti praeuri*, his presidents of Provinces under them, and inferiour Judges, and Magistrates, under these in one citie, and the regions of it. But this is an error giving ground to a Patriarchall and Oecumenicall church, as well as a Provinciall and *Diocesan*. This rule of planting churches varieth at mans pleasure: For the *Romane* Provinces after the people of *Rome* gave up their right to the Emperour, were brought all into one, under one head and Monarch, and Provinces have beene diversly divided from time to time. From this Monarchie arose the Popes plea against the Greeke churches for his Oecumenicall sovereignty. What forme of churches must we have amongst them who never received any such government, nay any constant government at all. If I were a conformitant I should object otherwise for a Provinciall church in *Phillippi*: viz thus. That church which had many B shops in it could not be Parishionall nor *Diocesan*, but Provinciall. For the Provinciall church hath the Metropolitan and Suffragan B shops in it, and no other. But *Phillippi* had so. Ergo. But the Proposition is true onely when it is understood of *Diocesan* Bishops, not of Parishionall B shops. Paul writeth not to the Bishops in the church, but in the citie: Now many Bishops are not in the Provinciall citie, though many are in a Provinciall church.

Now to come to the churches of *Asia*: I answer to the proposition of the first Syllog. by distinction. One church may containe others, as an example doth containe in it a thing exemplified: or

as a head Church doth Churches united in subjection to it. Those Churches which containe all other in the latter sense, it is true, they were at least Diocesan : but in this sense the assumption is denied. The same answer fitteth the Prosyllog. He that writing to these, writeth to all other by vertue of their subjectionall subordination, he doth imply that all others are contained in these as member Churches under one head. But he who writing to these, writeth to all other as exemplified onely in them, he doth not imply any such thing. Now this is manifest, because he writeth to seven Churches : whereas this were superfluous, if Christ did intend his letter onely to head Churches conteyning other. For then five Churches should have bene written to onely, seeing in them all others were conteyned, as they say. For by law of this virtuall continency, Philadelphia and Thyatira were included in two of the other, viz. Sardis, and Pergamus, which were their mother cities. What needed he have named Philadelphia and Thyatira, which by law of this virtuall continency did intend to direct his letter onely to head Churches? Againe, the assumption is false : For he doth write principally to the seven, and to all other Churches in Asia no further then he writeth to all the Churches in the world. There were other Churches in Asia, such as were Colosse, Hierapolis, Troas, the Church at Miletum, and Assos, which the Centuries mention, which depended not on those seven. If Colosse and Hierapolis were not, as Laodicea, reedified when John did write the Revelation, yet these other Churches were not extant. Not to name Magnesia and Tralles, the independancy whereof is fully cleared whatsoever Doct. Downam objecteth.

To the third reason ; from Christs manner of concluding his Epistles, it is answered by denying the assumption. For Christ doth not use the plurall number in respect of that one Church preceding, but in respect of the seven collectively taken, it being his will that the members of each singular Church should lay to heart both severally and joyntly, what ever was spoken to them and to others.

Now to come to the Ecclesiasticall examples, as of Rome, and Alexandria, two hundred yeares after Christ. And first to answer the reason brought for their increase, such as could not keepe still in a Parishionall meeting. The proposition is not of necessary consequence ; for there were very extraordinary reasons of that which was effected in the Church of Jerusalem : From Christ himselfe, from the residence of all the Apostles ; from the state of the people there assembled ; from the state of that Church ; from the time in which these were done. Christ

had prayed for them particularly, to which some attribute the first miraculous conversion by Peters preaching. Again, it was first, that being now ascended into his glory, he should there more abundantly display his power, and more conspicuously swallow up the scandall of his crosse. Again, this Church had the labour of all the Apostles for a time in it: whose care and industry we may guesse by their ordination of Deacons, that they might not be distracted. Thirdly, the confluence and concourse to Hierusalem was of much people, who though explicately they did not believe in Christ; yet had in them the faith of the Messiah, and therefore were nearer to the kingdome of God then the common Heathen. The state of this Church was such, that it was to send out light to all other, a common nursery to the world. Finally, the time being now, the beginnings of planting that heavenly Kingdome, seeing beginnings of things are difficult, no wonder if the Lord did reveale his arme more extraordinarily. It doth not therefore follow from this particular, to the so great encreasing of these churches in tract of time. Nay, if these other Churches had enjoyed like increase in their beginnings, it would not follow, as thus, *These Churches which within a few yeares had thus many in them, how numbersome were they many yeares after?* Because the growing of things hath a Period set, after which, even those things which a great while encreased, doe decrease and goe downward, as it was in Jerusalem. Not to mention, that we deny the assumption.

But though the Argument is but Topicall, and can but breed an opinion onely, yet the testimonies seeme irrefragable. Tertullian testifying that halfe the Citizens in Rome was Christians. And Cornelius, that there was besides himselfe, and 45. Presbyters, a number-some Clergie.

I answer, That Tertullians speech seemeth to be somewhat Hyperbolicall: for who can beleve that more then halfe the Citie, and world, after a sort, were Christians? But he speaketh this, and truly in some regard, because they were so potent through the world, that if they would have made head they might have troubled happily their persecutors. Or else he might say they were halfe of them Christians, not because there were so many members of the Church: but because there were so many who did beare some favour to their cause, and were it as safe as otherwise, would not flucke to turne to them. But Tertullian knew no Churches which did not meet, having prayers, exhortations, and ministering all kindes of censures: If therefore there were more Churches in Rome in his time, it will make little for Diocesan Churches.

Touching



Touching *Cornelius* : we answer. It is not unlike but auditories were divided and tended by Presbyteries. *Cornelius* keeping the Cathedrall Church, and being sole Bishop of them : but we deny that these made a Diocesan Church. For first, the Cathedrall and Parochiall Churches were all within the Citie, in which regard he is said, *Officium Episcopi impluisse in civitate Roma*. Neither was his Church as ample as the Province, which that of *Felicissimus* sufficiently teacheth. Secondly, we say that these Parochiall churches, were to the mother church, as chappels of ease are to these churches in *metropolim*, they had communion with the mother church, going to the same for Sacraments and hearing the Word, and the Bishop did goe out to them and preach amongst them. For some of them were not such as had liberty of Baptizing, and therefore could not be severed from communion with the head Church.

Now to answer further, it is beyond 100. yeares for which our defence is taken. For there is reason why people which had bene held together for 100. yeares as a Congregation, might now fifty yeares after be exceedingly encreased. The Ecclesiastickall story noteth a most remarkable increase of the faith, now in the time of *Julian* before *Cornelius*. Neither must we thinke that an Emperour, as *Philippus*, favouring the faith, did not bring on multitudes to the like profession. Secondly, we say, there is nothing in this of *Cornelius* which may not well stand, that the Church of Rome, though now much increased, did not keepe together as one Church. For the whole people are said to have prayed and communicated with the repentant Bishop, who had ordeyned *Novatus* : and we see how *Cornelius* doth amplify *Novatus* his pertinacie : From hence, that none of the numerous Clergie, nor yet of the people, very great and innumerable, could write him, or recall him, which argueth that the Church was not so abundant, but that all the members of it had union and communion, for the mutuall edifying and restoring one of another. And I would faine know, whether the seven Deacons, seven Subdeacons, two and forty Acolouthes, whether those exorcistes, Lectors, Porters about two and fifty are so many, as might not be taken up in a Congregation of fiftene or twenty thousand? Surely the time might well require them, when many were to be sent forth to doe some part of ministry more privately. Not to name the error of the Church in superfluous multiplications of their Presbyters, to vilifying of them, as they were superfluous in the point of their Deacons. There were fix y in the church of *Sophia* for the helpe of the Liturgie. True it is, the Congregation could not but be exceeding great, and might well be called in a manner innumerable, though it were but of a twenty thousand people. But because of this which is reported touching division by *Evaristus*, *Hyginus*, *Dionysius*, and *Marcellinus*,



Marcellinus, though there is no authenticke shew for it; neither is it likely in Hospinianus judgement. Let it be yielded that there were some Parochiall divisions, they were not many, and within the Citie, and were but as Chappels of ease to the cathedrall or mother Church.

Concerning the objection from the Churches of Belgia, or the low Countries, we deny the proposition: for we cannot reason thus: *If many Masters, and distinct farnes of Schollers, in one free Schools, be but one Schools: then many Masters and company of Schollers, severd in many Schooles, are but one Schools.* Secondly, they have communion in the community of their Teachers, though not in the same individuall word tended by them. But it is one thing, when sheepe feed together in one common Pasture, though they bite not on the same individuall grasse: Another thing when now they are tended in diverse sheepe-gates. Not to urge, that in the Sacraments and Discipline, they may communicate as one Congregation.

Touching the objection from Geneva: I answer to the proposition by distinction. *Those who subject themselves to a Presbytery, as not having power of governing themselves within themselves, as being under it by subordination, rise up in effect, as well as subject to a Consistorie: But thus the twenty four Churches of Geneva doe not.* They or have power of governing themselves, but for greater edification, voluntarily confederate, not to use nor exercise their power, but with mutuall communication, one asking the counsell and consent of the other in that common Presbytery. Secondly, it is one thing, for Churches to subject themselves to a Bishop and Consistory, wherein they shall have no power of suffrage: Another thing to communicate with such a Presbytery, wherein themselves are members and Judges with others. Thirdly, say, they had no power, nor were no members in that Presbytery, yet it is one thing to submit themselves to the government of Aristocrasie, another to the Bishops Monarchicall government. For while his Presbyters are but as Counsellours to a King, though he consulteth with them, he alone governeth. Geneva made this confociation, not as if the Prime Churches were imperfect, and to make one Church by this union: but because though they were intire Churches, and had the power of Churches, yet they needed this support in exercising of it, and that by this means the Ministers and Seniors of it might have communion. But what are all the foure and twenty Churches of Geneva to one of our Diocesan Churches?

Now to answer the reasons. The first of them hath no part true: the proposition is denied. For these Churches which had such Presbyters and Deacons as the Apostles intimated were Paritionall, that is, so conjoynd that they might and did meet in one Congregation.



The Doctor did consider the slenderesse of some of our Parishes, and the numberfome Clergy of some Cathedrall Churches, but did not consider there may be Presbyteries much lesser, and Congregations ampler and fuller, and yet none so bigge as should require that multitude he imagineth, nor made so little as might not have Presbyters and Deacons. What though such Maior and Aldermen as are in London cannot be had in every Towne, yet such a Towne as Cambridge may have a Maior and Aldermen as Cambridge affoordes, and the meanest market Towne may have, though not in degree, yet in kinde like Governours. So is it in Presbyters and other Officers: the multitude of Presbyters falling forth *per accidens*, not that a Bishop is ever to have a like numberfome Presbyterie, but because the Church is so numberfome that actions liturgicall require more copious assistance, and so wealthy that it can well maintaine them. And beside, because of that Collegiate reason which was in them rather then Ecclesiasticall, which the fathers had in their Presbyteries; for the nursing of plants, which might be transplanted for supply of vacant Churches, which was a point that the Apostles in planting Churches no whit intended.

To come to the assumption: *But civy Churches onely had a Bishop with Presbyters and Deacons.* Answer, First, not to stand upon this, that Saint Paul set no Bishops with Presbyters, but Presbyters onely, and they say Bishops were given, when the Presbyters had brought the Church to bee more numberfome; the assumption is false, that *Civie Churches onely had them.* For the Scripture saith, they planted them Church by Church, that is, through every Church. Then every Church had her Governours within her selfe, wee must use as ample interpretations as may be. Contrarily, the sense which arrogateth this to one from the rest wee cannot without evidence receive it, *in ambiguis restricta interpretatio adhibenda est.* *Ecclesia* doth not signifie any Church without difference, Parishionall, Diocesan, or Provinciall; but onely a company orderly assembling, not *ἀρχή* but *ἐκκλησία τοῦ κοινῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλησίας*. Such a company therefore as congregate decently to sacred purposes is a Church by translation. Besides the indefinite is equivalent to the universall, as *καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία* is *καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία πάντων*, so *καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία* is *καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐκκλησίας*. Now their interpretation beggeth every thing without any ground. For when Presbyters may be taken but three waies: *divisim*, *conjunctim*, and *divisim*, and *conjunctim*: *divisim* one Presbyter in one, another in another, *conjunctim* diverse Presbyters in every Church, neither of these will serve their turne, the latter onely being true: for Scripture making two kinds of Presbyters, without which the Church cannot be governed, it is sure it did give of both kinds to every Church they planted,

red. Now they seeing some Churches in our times to have many, and some one consist of both waies *Collegiate*, many Presbyters, & *Singularly*, one here, and one there, and because many Presbyters cannot be thus placed in our frame of Churches, imagine the Church to containe Parochiall and Diocesan Churches.

But they will not seeme to speake without reason; the Scriptures say they placed City by City Presbyters, and therefore in such Churches as occupied Citie, Suburbes, and Countrey, which Parochionall ones doe not. But may not a Church of one Congregation be in a Citie, without occupying limits of Citie, Suburbes, and Countrey? and if Presbyters be placed in such a Church, may they not bee said to be placed in Cities? Indeed if the Presbyters placed in Cities were given to all the people within such bounds; the case were other; but the citie is not literally thus a bounders flood, but metonymically for the Church in the Citie. Neither was the Church in the city, all within such bounds; for the Saints of a place and Church of a place, are all one in the Apostles phrase of speech. As for that which is objected from Ecclesiasticall history, it is true, that in processe of time, the Bishop onely had a company of Presbyters. Before, Churches kept in one Congregation and had all their Presbyters. Churches should so have afterward bene divided, that all should have bene alike for kinde, though in circumstantiall excellency some were before other. What a grosse thing is it to imagine, that the first frame the Apostles did erect was not for posterity to imitate? A fitter example then to take out of the custome of *Maropolis*, who sending out these *Presbyters*, or *Calvarys*, doe use to reserve some cases in civill jurisdiction over them, which the State of later Churches did expresse.

THE





## THE SECOND QUESTION, WHE- THER CHRIST ORDAINED

by himselfe, or by his Apostles, any  
ordinary Pastor, as our Bishops, having both  
precedency of order, and majority  
of power above others.

**VV**

EE will follow the same method: First, setting  
downe the arguments for it, with answers to  
them: Secondly, the arguments against it, Third-  
ly, lay downe conclusions. The arguments for  
it are: First, taken from Scripture: secondly,  
from practise of the Churches: thirdly, from reason evincing the ne-  
cessity of it.

### *The first Argument.*

Those whom the holy Ghost instituted, they are of Christs ordai-  
ning. But the holy Ghost is said to have placed Bishops, Acts 20. Er-  
go, Bishops are of Christs ordaining.

*Answer.* We deny the assumption: viz. That those Presbyters of  
Ephesus were Dioecesan Bishops. It is most plaine they were such  
who did *communis causis* tend the feeding and government of the  
Church: such Bishops whereof there might be more then one in  
one congregation. The common glosse referreth to this place that  
of *from*: that at first Presbyters did by common counsell governe  
the Churches. Yes, Doct. *Downam* doth count Ephesus as yet to have  
had no Bishop, who was sent unto them after *Pauls* being at Rome,  
as he thinketh. And others defending the Hierarchie, who thinke  
him to have spoken to Bishops, doe judge that these words belong not  
so the Presbyters of Ephesus, but are spoken in regard of others toge-  
ther then present with them, to wit, of *Timothy, Sosipater, Tychicus*, who,  
ly

say they, were three Bishops indeed; but that he speaketh of these who indeed were in company, is quite besides the text.

*The second Argument.*

Such Pastors as the seven Angels, Christ ordained. But such were Diocesan Bishops. Ergo. The assumption proved. Those who were of singular prehemineny amongst other Pastors, and had corrective power over all others in their Churches, they were Diocesan bishops. But the Angels were singular persons in every Church, having Ecclesiasticall prehemineny and superiority of power. Ergo, they were Diocesan bishops. The assumption is proved. Those who were shadowed by seven singular Stars, were seven singular persons. But the Angels were so. Ergo. Again, Those to whom onely Christ did write, who onely bare the praise, dispraise, threatening, in regard of what was in the Church amiss, or otherwise: they had Majority of power above others. But these Angels are written to onely, they are onely praised, dispraised, threatened. Ergo, &c.

*Ans. 1.* In the two first syllogismes the assumption is denied. Secondly, in the first Prosylogisme the consequence of the proposition is denied. That they must needs be seven singular persons. For seven singular Stars may signifie seven Unites, whether singular or aggregate: seven pluralities of persons who are so united as if they were one. And it is frequent in Scripture to note by a unity, a united multitude. Thirdly, the consequence of the proposition of the last prosylogisme is denied. For though we should suppose singular persons written to, yet a prehemineny in order and greater authority, without majority of power, is reason enough why they should be written to singularly, and blamed, or praised above other. Thus the Master of a Colledge, though he have no negative voyce, might be written to, and blamed for the misdemeanours of his Colledge, not that he hath a power over-ruling all: but because such is his dignity, that did he doe his endeavour in dealing with, and perswading others, there is no disorder which he might not see redressed. Fourthly, against the assumption may be denied: That they are onely written to. For though they are onely named, yet the whole Churches are written to in them; the supereminent member of the Church by a Synecdoche put for the whole Church. For it was the custome in the Apostles times, and long after, that not any singular persons, but the whole Churches were written unto, as in *Pauls* Epistles is manifest, and in many examples Ecclesiasticall. And that this was done by Christ here, the Epiphonemates testifie, *Let every one hear what the Spirit speaketh unto the Churches.*

*The third Argument.*

Those whom the Apostles ordained, were of Apostolicall institution.





on. But they ordained Bishops. Ergo. The assumption is proved by induction.

First, they ordained *James* Bishop of Jerusalem presently after Christs ascension. Ergo. they ordained Bishops. This is testified by *Eusebius*, lib. 2. *Histo.* cap. 1. out of *Clement* and *Negestippus* : yea, that the Church he sate in was reserved to his time, *ib.* 7. cap. 19. & 32. This our owne author *Ierom* testifieth, *Catalog. Script. Epiph.* ad her. 66. *Chrysost.* in *Act.* 3. & 33. *Ambros.* in *Galath.* 1. 9. *Dorotheus* in *Synopsi.* *Aug.* contra *Cres.* lib. 2. cap. 37. the generall Councell of Const. in Trull. cap. 32. For though hee could not receive power of order, yet they might give him power of jurisdiction, and assigne him his Church. So that though he were an Apostle, yet having a singular assignation, and staying here till death, he might justly be called the Bishop, as indeed he was. If he were not the Pastor, whom had they for their Pastor ?

Secondly, those ordinary Pastors who were called Apostles of Churches in comparison of other Bishops and Presbyters ; they were in order and majoriety of power before other. But *Epaphroditus* was the Apostle of the Philippians, though they had other called Bishops. Chap. 1. 4. Ergo. The assumption ; that he is so called as their eminent Pastor, is manifest by authorities. *Ierom.* in *Phil.* 2. *Tleod.* and *Chrysost.* on the same place. Neither is it like this sacred appropriate name should bee given to any in regard of meer sending hither or thither. Yea this, *that he was sent*, did argue him there Bishop : for when the Churches had to send any where they did usually intreate their Bishops.

Thirdly, *Archippus* they instituted at Colosse. Ergo.

Fourthly, *Timothy* and *Titus* were instituted Bishops, the one of Ephesus, the other of Crete. Ergo. The Antecedent is proved thus. That which is presupposed in their Epistles, is true. But it is presupposed that they were Bishops in these Churches. Ergo. The assumption proved. Those whom the Epistles presuppose to have had Episcopall authority given them to bee exercised in those Churches, they are presupposed to have beene ordained bishops there. But the Epistles presuppose them to have had Episcopall authority given them to be exercised in those Churches. Ergo. The assumption proved. 1. If the Epistles written to *Timothy* and *Titus*, bee patternes of the Episcopall function, informing them, and in them all bishops, then they were bishops. But they are so. Ergo. 2. Againe, whosoever prescribing to *Timothy* and *Titus* their duties as governours in these Churches, doth prescribe the very dutie of bishops, hee doth presuppose them bishops. But *Paul* doth so : For what is the office of a bishop beside teaching, but to ordaine and governe : and governe with singularitie

gularity of prebeminence; and majority of power in comparison of other. Now these are the things which they have in charge, *Tit. 1. 5. 1 Tim. 5. 12. 1 Tim. 1. 3. 11. 2 Tim. 2. 16. Ergo. 3.* Those things which were written to informe not onely *Timothy* and *Titus*; but in them all their successours who were Diocesan Bishops, those were written to Diocesan bishops. But these were so. Ergo, to Diocesan bishops. Now that Diocesan bishops were their successours, is proved. 1. Either they, or Presbyters, or Congregations. Not the latter. 2. Againe, Those who did succeed them were their successours. But Diocesan bishops did. Ergo. The assumption is manifest by authorities. In Ephesus from *Timothy* to *Stephanus* in the Counsell of Chalcedon. And in Crete, though no one is read to have succeeded, yet there were bishops Diocesan. And we read of *Philip* bishop of Gortina the Metropolis. 4. Those who were ordinarily resident; and lived and died at these Churches, were there bishops. But *Timothy* was bid abide here, *Titus* to stay to correct all things, and they lived and died here. For *Timothy* it is testified by *Hegesippus*; and *Clement* and *Eusebius* out of them; whom so refuse to believe, deserve themselves no believe. Ergo, they were there bishops. Againe, *Jerom.* in Cat. *Isidorus de vita & morte Sancti Antonii* par. 1. Tit. 6. cap. 28. *Niceph. lib. 10. Cap. 31.* these doe depose, that they lived and died there. Further, to prove them bishops. 5. Their function was Evangelicall and extraordinary; or ordinary; not the first, that was to end. For their function as assigned to these Churches, and consisting especially in ordaining and jurisdiction, was not to end. Ergo. Assumption proved. That function which was necessary to the being of the Church, was not to end. But the function they had as being assigned to certaine Churches, is necessary to the being of the Church. Ergo, &c. 6. Finally, that Antiquity testifieth; agreeing with Scripture, is true. But they testifie that they were bishops; which the subscriptions of the Epistles also affirme. Ergo. *Eusebius Lib. 5. Cap. 4. Dynis. Arcopag. Dorothe. in Synopsi. Ambrose poem. in 1. Tim. 7. Jerom. 1. Tim. 1. 14. 2. Tim. 4. in Catalo. Chrysostom. in Philip. 1. Epiph. in Hæz. 5. Primas. prelat. in 1. Tim. 1. 1. Theod. prelat. in Tit. Oecum. Sedulus. 1. Timothi. 1. as it is said in the booke of histories. Greg. L. b. 2. Cap. 12. Theoph. in Ephes. 4. Niceph. lib. 2. Cap. 34.*

We deny the assumption of the first Syllogisme; with all the instances brought to prove it.

First, for *Iames*, we deny he was ordained bishop, or that it can be proved from antiquity, that he was more then other Apostles. That which *Eusebius* reporteth, is grounded on *Clement*, whom wee know to be a forged magnifier of Romish orders; and in this story he doth seeme

seeme to imply, that Christ should have ordain'd *Peter*, *John* and *James* the greater Bishops. Seeing he maketh these to have ordain'd *James* after they had got of Christ the supreme degree of dignity, which these forged deceitfull Epistles of *Anacletus* doe plainly affirme. Secondly, as the ground is suspected; so the phrase of the Fathers, *Calling him the Bishop of that Church*, doth not imply that he was a Bishop properly so called. The Fathers use the words of *Apostoli* and *Episcopi* amply, not in their strict and formall propriety. *Ierom* on the first to the *Galathians*, and in his Epistle to *Damasus*, affirmeth, that the *Prophets* and *Iohn* the Bishop might be called Apostles. So many Fathers call *Phillip* an Apostle. *Clem. 3. Conf. cap. 7. Ensch. lib. 3. cap. ult. Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 8.* and others. In like manner they call the Apostles Bishops; not in propriety of speech, but because they did such things as Bishops doe, and in remaining here or there made resemblance of them. Thus *Peter*, *Paul*, *Iohn*, *Barnabas*, and all the rest, are by the Ancients called Bishops.

Object. This is granted true, touching others, but not in this instance of *Iames*: because it is so likely and agreeable to Scripture, as well as all other Story; that when all the rest of the Apostles departed out of *Jerusalem*, *Iohn* the Baptist did still abide with them even to death. Answer. Though this be but very conjecturall, yet it nothing bettereth the cause here. It followeth not, He did abide with this Church. Ergo, he was the proper Bishop of this Church. For not abiding in one Church doth make a Bishop: but he must so abide in it, that he must from the power of his office, onely be bound to teach that Church: secondly, to teach it as an ordinary Pastor of it: thirdly, to governe it with a power of jurisdiction, limited onely to that Church. But *Iames* was bound to the rest of the Circumcision by his office, as they should from all the world resort thither. Secondly, he did not teach but as an Embassador extraordinarily sent from Christ, and infallibly led by his Spirit into all truth. Ergo, not as an ordinary Bishop. Thirdly, as the rest in what Provinces soever they rested, had not their jurisdiction diminished, but had power occasionally, as well where they were not, as where they were; so it was with *Iames*. This might happily make the phrase to be more founded out of *Iames*, that he did in this circumstance of residing, more neerely expresse an ordinary Pastor then any other. It is plaine, Antiquity did hold them all Bishops, and gather them so to be, *a Priori & Posteriori*: the Author *de quæst. vet. & nov. test. cap. 97. Nemo ignorat Episcopos salvatorem Ecclesiam instituisse priusquam ascenderet: imponens manus Apostolis, ordinavit eos in Episcopos.* Neither did they thinke them Bishops because they received a limited jurisdiction of any Church; but because they were enabled to doe all those things which none but Bishops could regularly

regularly doe. *Octon. esp. 12. in All.* It is to bee noted, saith'hee, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* had the dignity of Bishops: for they did not make Bishops onely, but Presbyters also. Now wee must consider the ancient, as taking them onely eminently and virtually to have been Bishops, or else wee must judge them to have been of this minde, That the Apostles had both as extraordinarie Legats, most ample power of teaching and governing suting thereto, as also the ordinary office of Bishops and Pastors, with power of teaching and governing, such as doe essentially and ministerially agree to them: which indeed Doctor *Downham* himselfe confureth, as Popish, and not without reason, though while hee doth strive to have *James* both an Apostle and a Bishop properly, himselfe doth confime it not a little.

Wherefore it will not be unprofitable to shew some reasons why the Apostles neither were nor might be in both these callings.

First, That which might make us doubt of all their teaching, and writing, is to bee hissed forth as a most dangerous assertion. But to make *James*, and so any of them, have both these offices in proprietic, might make us doubt. Ergo. The assumption proved thus. That which doth set them in office of teaching liable to error, when they teach from one office, as well as infallibly directed with a rule of infallible discerning, when they teach from the other, that doth make us subject to doubting in all they teach and write. But this opinion doth so. Ergo. The proposition is, for ought I see, of necessarie truth, the assumption no lesse true. For if there bee any rule to direct *James* infallibly, as hee was formally the ordinary bishop of Jerusalem, let us heare it: if there were none, may not I question, whether all his teaching and writing were not subject to error? For if hee taught them as an ordinarie bishop, and did write his Epistle so, then certainly it might erre. If he did not teach them so, then did hee not that hee was ordained to, neither was hee properly an ordinare Pastor, but taught as an extraordinarie Embassadour from Christ.

Secondly, Those offices which cannot bee exercised by one, but the one must expell the other, were never by God conjoynd in one person. But these doe so. Ergo. The assumption is manifest. Because it is plain, none can be called to teach as a Legat extraordinarie, with infallible assistance, and unlimited jurisdiction, but he is made incapable of being bound to one Church, teaching as an ordinare person, with jurisdiction limited to that one Church. Againe, one can no sooner bee called to doe this, but at least the exercise of the other is suspended. Thirdly, that which is to no end, is not to bee thought to bee ordained of God. But to give one an ordinare authority, whereby to doe this or that in a Church, who



had a higher and more excellent power of office, whereby to doe those same things in the same Church, is to no end. Ergo.

*Object.* But it will be denied that any other power of order, or to teach and administer sacraments was given, then that he had as an Apostle: but onely jurisdiction or right to this Church as his Church.

*Answer.* To this I reply, first, that if hee had no new power of order, he could not be an ordinary Bishop properly and formally so called. Secondly, I say power of governing ordinary was not needfull for him who had power as an Apostle in any Church where hee should come. *Object.* But it was not in vaine, that by assignation hee should have right to reside in this Church as his Church. *Answer.* If by the mutuall agreement in which they were guided by the spirit, it was thought meete, that James should abide in Jerusalem, there tending both the Church of the Jewes, and the whole circumcision, as they by occasion resorted thither, then by vertue of his Apostleship hee had no lesse right to tend those of the circumcision by residing here, then the other had right to doe the same in the Provinces through which they walked. But they did thinke it meete that hee should there tend that Church, and with that Church all the Circumcision, as they occasionally resorted thereto. Ergo. For though hee was assigned to reside there, yet this Apostolicke Pastorall care was as *James* and *Peter*, towards the whole multitude of the disperfed Jewes, Galath. 2. Now if it were assigned to him for his abode, as hee was an Apostolike Pastor, what did hee need assignation under any other title. Nay he could not have it otherwise assigned, unless wee make him to sustaine another person, viz. of an ordinary Pastor, which hee could not bee who did receive no such power of order as ordinary Pastors have.

Fourthly, that calling which hee could not exercise without being much abased, that hee never was ordained unto, as a point of honour for him. But he could not exercise the calling of an ordinary Bishop, but hee must bee abased. Hee must bee bound by office to meddle with authority and jurisdiction but in one Church, hee must teach as an ordinary man liable to errour. Ergo, hee was never ordained to bee a Bishop properly. If it bee sacriledge to reduce a Bishop to the degree of a Presbyter, what is it to bring an Apostle to the degree of a Bishop? True it is, hee might have beene assigned to reside constantly in that Church without travelling, and be no whit abased: but then he must keepe there a Pastor of it with Apostolicall authority, caring not for that Church, but the whole number of the Jewes, which hee might doe without travelling. Because



cause who so kepted in that Church, hee did neede to goe forth as the rest; for the Jewes from all parts come to him. But he could not make his abide in it as an ordinary teacher and governour, without becomming many degrees lower then hee was. For to live without going forth, in the mother Church of all the world, as an ordinary Pastor, was much lesse honour then to travaile as *pete*r one while into Assyria, another while through Pontus, Galatia, Bithinia, as an Apostle. Even as to sit at home in worshipfull private place is lesse honourable then to goe abroad as Lord Embassadour hither or thither. Honour and eate are seldome bed-fellowes. Neither was *James* his honour in this circumstance of the rest, but in having such an honourable place wherein to exercise his Apostolicke calling. As for that question, who was their ordinary Pastor, it is easily answered. Their Presbyters, such as *Linus*, or *Clement* in Rome, such as *Ephesus* and other Churches had. *James* was their Pastor also, but with extraordinary authority. What needed they an ordinary Bishop, which grew needfull (as the favourers of the Hierarchy say) to supply the absence of Apostles, when now they were to decease? What needed then here an ordinary Bishop where the Apostles were joyntly to keepe twelve yeares together, and one to reside during his life, according to the current of the story? Thus much about the first instance.

To the second instance of *Epaphroditus*, and the argument drawn from it. First, we deny the proposition. For had some ordinary Pastors beene so stiled, it might imply but a preheminiencie of dignity in them above other: wherefore unlesse this be interferred, it is unsound, viz. *These ordinary Pastors, who are called Apostles in comparison of others, because the Apostles did give to them power of ordination, jurisdiction, and preterite preheminiency, which they did not give to others, they are above others.* Secondly, the Assumption is false altogether: First, that *Epaphroditus* was an ordinary Pastor: Secondly, that hee was called an Apostle in comparison of inferior Pastors of that Church. *Obi.* But the judgement of *Ierom*, *Theodoret*, *Chrysostome*, is that he was. *Ans.* The common judgement is, that he was an egregious teacher of theirs, but further then this, many of the testimonies doe not depose. Now so he might be: for he was an Evangelist, and one who had visited and labored among them, and therefore might be called their teacher, yea an egregious teacher, or Doctor of them. Nay, Saint *Ambrose* doth plainly insinuate, that he was an Evangelist: for he saith he was made their Apostle by the Apostle, while he sent him to exhort them, and because he was a good man, he was desired of the people. Where hee maketh him sent, not for perpetuall residence amongst them; but for the transient exhorting of them, and maketh him so desired of the



Philippians, because hee was a good man, not because hee was their ordinary Pastor. *Ieroms* testimony on this place doth not evince. For the name of Apostles and Doctours is largely taken, and as applicable to one, who as an Evangelist did instruct them, as to any other. *Theod.* doth plainly take him to have been as their ordinary bishop, but no otherwise then *Timothy* and *Titus*, and other Evangelists are said to have been bishops: which how true it is, in the next argument shall be discussed. For even *Theodore* doth take him to have beene such an Apostolicke person as *Timothy* and *Titus* were. Now these were as truly called bishops as the Apostles themselves. Neither is the rule of *Theodore* to be admitted: for it is unlike that the name of Apostle should be communicated then with ordinary Pastors, where now there was danger of confounding those eminent Ministers of Christ, with others, and when now the Apostles were deceased, that then it should cease to be ascribed to them. Againe, how shall wee know that a bishop is to be placed in a Citie, that hee must be a person thus and thus (according to *Pauli* Canons) qualified: all is voided, and made not to belong to a bishop. For those who are called bishops, were Presbyters and no bishops, bishops being then to be understood onely under the name of Apostles and Angels. Thirdly, antiquity doth testifie, that this was an honour to bishops, when this name was Ecclesiastically appropriated to them. But if they ever had been reamed by the name of Apostles before, this had been a debasing of them. Neither is there reason why they should be called Apostles. In jurisdiction Apostolicall the Apostles were not succeeded. Jurisdiction Episcopall they never exercised, nor had, and therefore could not be succeeded in it. The Apostles gave to Presbyters that which Christ gave them out of his power; even the power of ordinary government. They are bid *regere*, and *gubernare*, to feed as well by government as doctrine. They are bid not to play the Lords over the flock. What feare of tyranny where there is no power of government? But lay authorities aside, consider the thing from the text it selfe. First, *Paul* seemeth but occasionally to send him, hee having purposed to have sent *Timothy*, who as yet could not be employed. *I thought it necessary to send Epaphroditus to you.* Secondly, hee doth imply, that *Epaphroditus* had not returned to them, but that hee sent him; and that therefore hee was not the ordinary bishop of it. It is like, hee was but sent till *Timothy* might be dispatched to them. Neither is it any thing probable he should be called an Apostle, as their ordinary and eminent Pastor. In the Scriptures, none are said to be Apostles further then they are in habitude to some sending them. Now this is undoubted, the Philippians had sent him to *Paul*. It is then most probable when he is called

called their Apostle, it is in regard he was sent by them, which the Apostle pointeth at in the next words, *whom have ministered to me the things needfull which you sent by him.* Object. But it is unlikely that this word appropriated to the Twelve, should be used of those sent civile. Not so, for while the persons sending are signified, they are sufficiently contradistinguished; it being the Priviledge of the Apostles, that they were the Apostles of Christ Jesus, not simply that they were Apostles. Secondly, *Acts 13.* It is made common to all that are sent. For though Christ meane it of himselfe, yet he implies it by a discourse, *a genere ad speciem.* Thirdly, we see the like phrase, *2 Cor. 8. The Apostles of the Churches.* For *Chrysostome* there understandeth those whom the Churches had sent for that present. That doth not hinder, they were by *Paul* to the Churches, therefore the churches might not send them with their contributions. Neither is this an argument that he was their bishop, because their church sent him: for they sent Apostles themselves and Evangelists also more ordinarily, it being their office to goe from church to church, for the edification of them.

For the instance of *Archipus* I finde it not urged.

Now to come to the last instances of *Timotheus* and *Titus*.

First, we deny the Antecedent, that they were instituted bishops by *Paul*. And in the first prosilogisme we deny the Assumption: that the *Epistles* doe presuppose so much. And to the prosilogisme, tending to prove this assertion denied, we answer: first, to the proposition, by distinguishing the Episcopall authority, which is considered both in regard of that which is materiall, and in regard of the formall reason which doth agree to it. The Proposition is true, understanding it of authority in both these regards; those who are presupposed to have had authority Episcopall given them, both for the substance of it, and the formall reason which doth agree to it in an ordinary bishop, they are presupposed bishops: but this is denied. For they are presupposed to have and exercise power Episcopall for the materiall of it, as Apostles had also; but not to have and exercise in that manner and formallity which doth agree to a Bishop, but which doth agree to an Evangelist, and therefore they are bid-den to doe the worke of an Evangelist, to exercise all that power they did exercise as Evangelists. There is nothing that *Paul* writeth to *Timothy* to doe in *Ephesus*, or to *Titus* *Crete*, which himselfe present in person might not and would not have done. If wee should reason then thus: Hee who did exercise Episcopall power in these churches, he is presupposed to have bene bishop in them. This proposition is not true, but with limitation: Hee who exercised Episcopall power after that formall manner, which doth agree to the office of a Bishop, hee was Bishop; but not hee who exerciseth the power



power *secundum aliam rationem & modum*: viz. after such a manner as doth agree to an Apostle.

To the second maine prooffe, wee deny the proposition. If patternes for Bishops, then written to Bishops. The reason is, Apostles, Evangelists, ordinary Pastors, have many things common in their administration. Hence is it, that the example of the one may be a patterne to another, though they are not identically and formally of one calling. Councells have enjoyned all Presbyters to be well teene in these Epistles, as being patternes for them, *Vide Aug. De doctr. Christi. cap. 16. lib. 4.*

To the third reason. *Who so prescribing them their duties doth propose the very duties of Bishops, hee doth take them to have bene Bishops.* The Proposition is not true without a double limitation. If the Apostle should propose such duties of Bishops as they in later times usurped, he doth not therefore presuppose them bishops, because these are duties of Evangelists, agreeing to bishops onely by usurpation. Again, should he propose those duties which say they, the word doth ascribe and appropriate to bishops, yet if he doe not prescribe them as well in regard of matter as forme exercised by them, it will not follow that he doth take them for bishops: nor that Paul doth purpose the very duties of bishops, both in substance and manner of performance. Secondly, we deny him to purpose for substance the duties of bishops. For hee doth not bid him ordaine, as having a further sacramentall power then other Ministers, nor governe with power directive and corrective over others. This exceedeth the bounds of all ministeriall power. Thirdly, *Timothy* is not bid to lay on hands or doe any other act, when now churches were constituted, but with concurrence of those churches; *salvo universis Ecclesie iure*, the Apostles did not otherwise. For though Paul wrote to him alone, that was because he was occupied not onely in churches perfectly framed, but also in the erecting and framing of others. Secondly, because they were in degree and dignity above all other ordinar governours of the Church, which their Consular-like preheminence was sufficient, why they should be written to alone.

To the fourth reason: *Those things which were written to informe, not onely Timothy and Titus, but all their successours, who were Diocesan Bishops, that were written to Diocesan Bishops. But these were so, Ergo.* The Proposition is not true, because it presupposeth that nothing written to any persons, can informe Diocesan bishops, unless the persons to whom it is written be formally in that selfe same order. For if one Apostle should write to another touching the duty Apostolique, it might informe any Doct or or Pastor whatsoever. Secondly, wee deny Diocesan bishops age (*de iure*) successours. As for the equivocal

equivocall Catalogue which maketh all who are read bishops to have beene Diocesan, we shall speake of them hereafter. The bishops betweene *Timothy* and *Sisypus* in the time of the *Chalcedon* Councell, were not all of one cut: and there are no churches read in *Crete* which were not Congregations. There is no more to prove *Phillip* of *Gortina* a Metropolitan, then to prove *Ignatius* Metropolitan of *Syria*. For what doth story relate, but that *Phillip* was amongst other a bishop of those Churches which were in *Crete*. There are many Churches in *England*, a Minister of which Churches is such an one, that is one Minister amongst others of those Churches. To that of their residing there and dying in these Churches. First, the proposition is not necessary. For as *James* might reside exercising an Apostollicall inspection in a particular Church, so might these exercise an Evangelicall function how long soever they resided. Secondly, the assumption will not be found true for ordinary constant residence neither in Scripture nor fathers. For *Timothy*, though he be exhorted to stay at *Ephesus*, yet this doth not argue it, that he was enjoyed ordinary residence. For first it was a signe he was not bishop, because *Paul* did exhort him, for he would well have knowne, he might not, being their ordinary Pastor leave them, further then the more important good of the Church should occasion. 2. He is bid to stay there, not finally, buttill the Apostle should come to him, which though he might be delayed, it is plaine he then intended. So *Titus* is placed in *Crete*, not to stay there, and set downe his rest, but *instruct*, further to set, as it were, and exedifie the fabrick, which *Paul* had begun. God gave Ceremonies *μαχηλαίρε*, *στροφωρισ* *Διςθωρισ*, is not ever a correcting of any thing amisse, but a setting every thing right, by erecting the substance foreshadowed. But say it were correcting, it were but such a correction as one might performe in *transit*, with a little longer stay, though not ordinary residence. By Scripture the contrary is manifest.

For first, it is not like that *Timothy* was placed bishop after *Paul* being at *Rome*; for when *Paul* saith he prayed him, when now hee was going to *Macedonia*, to stay at *Ephesus*, he doth intimate that when hee left him they were there both together. Secondly, when he wished him to abide there, hee had a meaning to come unto *Timothy* thither where he left him, so as at least to call on him, and see the Church. But *Paul* after his parting from the Presbyters knew he should never see the *Ephesians* more, *Act. 20*. If we say he doth foretell it for likely, so we may say, that of wolves a rising was, and call all into question. Neither is it likely, but that *Paul* would have broke his heart, and made him yeeld in the peremptories of his speech, had not his soule beene divinely persuaded. Thirdly, he had no meaning when he left them to constitute

*Timothy*

*Timothy* to be their Bishop: for he would not have omitted such an argument of consolation to hearts so heavy. Nor he doth not mention any such purpose when he did write to them his Epistle. Hee telleth Churches usually when himselfe hath meaning to see them, or to send others. Fourthly, *Timothy* was with Paul while hee was in bonds at Rome, as witnesse those inscriptions of the Epistles to the *Colossians* and *Philemons*; yea *Timothy* was so with him, as to bee imployed by him, sent forth, and returne to him, which is manifest. Philip. 2. If he were after this placed in *Ephesus*, yet he was not placed to be resident, for in the end of the Epistle, he doth bid *Timothy* come to him, and bring *Mark*, that they might minister to him. Againe when hee did write the 2. Epistle, *Timothy* was not *Ephesus*, for he doth bid him salute *Aquila* and *Priscilla* and *Onesiphorus*. Object. But is like these were at *Ephesus*, for there Paul left *Aquila* and *Priscilla*. They came occasionally, they did not fixe there; which *Crysostome* also judgeth. And the house of *Onesiphorus*; *Bernard* taketh it, was at Iconium in Lycaonia, so that it is like hee was in his native countrey at this time, even Iconium, Lystra, Debe, which happily is the cause why the Scholasticall story doth make him Bishop of Lystra, because hither he was last sent. He was so here, as that the Apostle did bursend him to see them, for hee biddeth him come before winter. Besides, there are many probalities he was not at *Ephesus*, for he speaketh of it through the Epistle, as a place now remote from him. Thou knowest what *Onesiphorus* did for me at *Ephesus*, not where now thou art. I have sent *Tychicus* to *Ephesus*, not to thee, to supply thy place while thou shalt bee absent. Finally, after *Pauls* death hee did not returne to *Ephesus*, but by common consent went to Iohn the Apostle, and very little before his death came to *Ephesus*, if ever. As for the Fathers therefore in this point, if they testifie ordinary residence, which they doe not, wee have liberty to renounce them; but they testifie onely that he remained in that Church, because his stay was longer there then Evangelists did use to make, and he is thought to have suffered martyrdom there. So for *Titus*, when Paul sent him to Crete to doe that worke is uncertaine; but this is certaine, it was before his writing to the Corinthians the second time, and going to Rome. This likewise that Paul was then in travelling; and as it is like being in the parts of Macedonia did mean to winter at *Nicopolis*. When he did write the Epistle he doth shew it was not his meaning that *Titus* should stay there, for hee doth bid him to meete him at *Nicopolis*, where he meant to be as it is likely, but *Titus* comming did not meete him there, but at length found him in Macedonia, whence Paul did send him to the Corinthians, that King God for his prompnesse would be come accord to be imployed amongst them, 2 Cor. 8. 16. which doth shew



shew he had not beene made an ordinary bishop any where. We find that he did accompany *Paul* at Rome, 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. and when *Paul* writ his second Epistle to *Timothy*, he was in Dalmatia. Whence *Aquinas* doth thinke him to have beene bishop of that place. Wherefore we thinke him that will bee carried from such presumptions, (yea manifest arguments) by *Hegesippus*, *Clement*, and history grounded on them, to be too much affected to so weake authors, and with not credit with him, who counts him unworthy credit, that will not sweare what such men depose.

Touching the prooffe that followeth, *That either function was Evangelicall and extraordinary, or ordinary. But their function as assigned to those Churches was not extraordinary.* We deny this assumption, with the prooffe of it. *That the function that these exercised as assigned to certaine Churches (these two by name) was necessary to the being of the Church.* The reason is, because they were assigned to doe those things which are to be done for ever in the church after a more transcendent manner; viz. as Evangelists; and assignation of them to doe those things in certaine Churches after this manner, was not necessary to perpetuate the being of the Church. Assignation to churches to doe the worke of ordinary Pastors is indeed necessary; not assignation to doe the worke of Evangelists.

To that finall reason, what antiquity doth testifie agreeing with Scriptures is true, and so to be taken. What they speake agreeing, that it is virtually contained in them, and may rightly be deduced from them, is to bee believed and received by a divine faith. But what they speake not plainly contradicted, but yet no way included, may be admitted *side humana*, if the first relators be well qualified witnesses. But what they speake from such as *Clement* and *Hegesippus*, it is in effect of light credulity. A corrupt conscience bent to decline is glad of every colour which it may pretend to justify it selfe in declining.

To the assumption we answer. What do not some ancient enough call *Timothy*? *Ambrose* saith he was a Deacon one while, a Presbyter another while, & in like sense others a Primate & a Bishop. *Lys* proveth him from many authorities to have been an Arch-bishop, and *Titus* a Priest. *Beda* calleth him an Apostle. But to gather on these, that he was in propriety of speech all these, were absurd. Object. 1, but they call him bishop on other grounds, because assigned to this Church. Answer. They call him bishop because he was assigned to this Church, not onely to teach, but also to ordaine Deacons, Presbyters. For wheresoever they found this done, and by whomsoever, they did call them bishops, as I noted before from *Oecumen.* The fathers therefore may be well construed calling these bishops, because they made longer stay in these Churches then Evangelists did usually, & did preach

and ordaine, and doe in these Churches all such things which Bishops in their time used to doe. But that he was not an Evangelist, and more then an ordinary bishop they do not deny. *Salmeron* himselfe in his first Disputation on 1. *tim.* pag. 405. *Videatur ergo quod sacris plusquam Episcopus, etiam si ad rem, us in ecclesiastice ut Pastor predicaverit & sacros ordines promoverit, unde quidem vocant eum Episcopum.* Finally, should they in rigour and formall propriety make him an ordinary Pastor from the first time *Paul* did write to him ordinarily resident to his end; they should testifie a thing, as I hope I have shewed, contrary to Scripture, y<sup>e</sup> a contrary to that text which maketh him to have done the worke of an Evangelist. As for the shew from the Subscriptions we have spoken sufficiently.

Now to shew that they were not properly b shops. First, we have shewed that they were but subrogated to doe those supposed Episcopall duties a while, but were not there fixed, to make their ordinary abode. Therefore not b shops properly. Secondly, th<sup>y</sup> who did the worke of an Evangelist in all that they did, did not perform formally the worke of a bishop. But these did so. As is vouched of *Timothy*, *Do the worke of an Evangelist.* Ergo. The Proposition is proved. If an Evangelist and b shop cannot be formally of one office, then the act of an Evangelist, and the act of an ordinary Pastor or bishop cannot be formally one. For when every thing doth *agere secundum quod officium*, those things which are not the same formally, their worke and effect cannot be formally the same. But the Evangelist and the ordinary Pastor or bishops, are not formally the same. Ergo. The assumption the Apostle proveth, by that distinct enumeration of those whom Christ gave now ascending by the worke of the Ministry to gather and build his Church. For as an Apostle is distinguished from a Prophet, a Prophet from an Evangelist, so an Evangelist from an ordinary Teacher.

*Object.* But it may be said, they were not distinct, but that the superiour contained the inferiour, and Apostles might be Evangelists properly, as *Matthew* and *John* were.

*Answer.* That former point is to be understood with a graine of salt. The superiour contained the inferiour virtually and eminently, in as much as they could doe *altiori tamen ratione*, what the inferiour did. This sense is tollerable. But that formally the power of all other offices suites w<sup>th</sup> the Apostles, is false. My Lord chiefe Justice of England is not formally a Constable. As for the latter, true, an Apostle might be also a penmen of the Gospell, but this maketh not an Evangelist more then an Apostle, but doth *per accidens*, come to them both. And even as a Preacher or Pastor, writing Commentaries, and publishing other Treatises, this commeth *per accidens* to his calling, it doth not make him a Pastor, but more illustrious.

lustious and fruitfull in that regard then another. So *Mark* and *Luke* was not therefore Evangelists because they did write the Gospels, for then none should have beene Evangelists that had not written, but in this regard they were more renowned then other. Custom hath so prevailed, saith *Maldonate* in his Preface on *Matthew*, that wee call them Evangelists, (viz. the Writers of the Gospels) whom the Scriptures never call Evangelists. These Evangelists *Paul* speaketh of were given at Christs ascension, but the first writer of the Gospel, being an Apostle, was at least eight yeares after. Secondly, they were a distinct order of workemen from the Apostles, but two of the penmen of the Gospels were Apostles. Thirdly, they were such as by labour of ministry (common for the generall of it to all other) did gather Saints, and build Christs Body. Now writing the Gospel was not a labour of Ministry common to Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, but the publishing of it.

Those degrees which Christ did distinctly give to othersome, and othersome, those he did not give conjoyndly to one and the same persons. But these callings he gave to some one, to others another. Else he must have said, he gave the same men to be Apostles and Evangelists, the same to be Evangelists and Pastors. Ergo.

That calling which is not compatible with the calling of an Evangelist, that *Paul* never annexed to an Evangelist. But the calling of a bishop is such. For a bishop is tyed to a particular Church. The calling of an Evangelist is a calling whereby one is called to the worke of the Ministry, to gather Saints, and edifie Christs body, without any limitation to any particular Church. Ergo, *Paul* never annexed the calling of a bishop to an Evangelist.

The calling of an Evangelist is not to write the Gospel, nor to preach it simply: for then every Minister of the Word should be an Evangelist. But this doth difference them, to preach it without limitation or assignation to any particular church. Thus *Phillip* thus all those who were the Apostles helpers, working the work of the Lord as they did were Evang of which sort some continued to the time of *Commodus* the Emperour, as *Eusebius* reporteth, *Euseb. hist. li 5. cap. 9.* Now a calling whereby I am thus called to publish the Gospel, without fixing my selfe in any certaine place; and a calling which bindeeth during life to settle my selfe in one Church, are incompatible.

Lastly, that which would have debased *Timothy* and *Titus*, that *Paul* did not put upon them. But to have brought them from the honour of serving the Gospel, as *Callistrall* companions of the Apostles, to be ordinary Pastors, had abased them. Ergo, this to be ordinary Pastors *Paul* did not put upon them. *Objection.* The assumption is denyed, it was no abasement. For before they were but Presbyters, and afterward by imposition of hands were made bishops.

why should they receive imposition of hands, and a new ordination, if they did not receive an ordinary calling? we meane if they were not admitted into ordinary functions by imposition of hands. I answer, This denyall with all whereon it is builded is grosse: For to bring them from a Superiour order to an Inferiour, is to abase them. But the Evangelists office was superiour to Pastors. Ergo. The assumption proved. First, Every office is so much the greater, by how much the power of it is of apler extent and lesse restrained. But the Evangelists power of teaching and governing was unlimited. Ergo. The assumption proved. Where ever an Apostle did that part of Gods worke which belonged to an Apostle; there an Evangelist might doe that which belonged to him. But that part of Gods worke which belonged to an Apostle he might doe any where without limitation. Ergo. Secondly, every Minister by how much he doth more approximate to the highest, by so much he is higher. But the companions, & coadjutors of the Apostles, were nearer then ordinary Pastors. Ergo. Who are next the King, in his Kingdome, but those who are *Regis Comites*. The Evangelists were *Comites* of these Ecclesiasticall Chieftaines. *Chrysostome* doth expressly say on Ephes. 4. That the Evangelists in an ambulatory course spreading the Gospell, were above any bishop or Pastor which resteth in a certaine Church. Wherefore to make them Presbyters is a weake conceite. For every Presbyter (properly so called) was constituted in a certaine Church to doe the worke of the Lord in a certaine Church. But Evangelists were not, but to doe the worke of the Lord in any Church as they should be occasioned. Ergo, they were no Presbyters properly so called. Now for their ordination; *Timothy* received none as the Doctor conceiveth, but what hee had from the hand of the Apostle and Presbyters, when now he was taken of *Paul* to be his companion. For no doubt but the Church which gave him a good testimony, did by her Presbyters concurre with *Paul* in his promoting to that office. Obj. What, could they lay on hands with the Apostles, which *Phillip* could not, and could they enter one into an extraordinary office? Ans. They did lay on hands with the Apostles, as it is expressly read, both of the Apostles and them. It is one thing to use precatory imposition, another to use miraculous imposition, such as the Apostles did, whereby the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were conferred. In the first, Presbyters have power. Neither is it certaine, that *Phillip* could not have imposed hands, and given the Holy Ghost. For though he could, he might choose in wisdom for their greater confirmation and edification to see that be done by persons more eminent. Finally, imposition of hands may be used in promoting and setting one forth to an extraordinary office.

For every extraordinary office is not attended with immediate vocation from God. As the calling of Evangelists, though extraordinary, was in this unlike the calling of Apostles and Prophets. Secondly, men called immediately may be promoted to the more fruitfull exercise of their immediate and extraordinary callings by imposition of hands from their inferiours, as *Paul* and *Barnabas* were. Howsoever, it is plaine, that *Timothy* by imposition of hands, was ordained to no calling, but the calling of an Evangelist. For that calling he was obtained to, which he is called on by *Paul* to exercise, and fully execute. But he is called on by him to doe the work of an Evangelist. Ergo, that calling he was ordained to.

That worke which exceedeth the calling of an ordinary bishop, was not put upon an ordinary bishop. For *Titus* his worke did so: for it was to plant Presbyters Towne by Towne through a Nation. Ergo. For the ordinary plantation and erecting of Churches to their due frame, exceedeth the calling of an ordinary bishop. But this was *Titus* his worke. Ergo. Bishops are given to particuler Churches when now they are framed, that they may keepe them winde and wether tight, they are not to lay foundations, or to exedifie some imperfect beginnings. But say *Titus* had bene a bishop: he is nowarrant for ordinary bishops, but for Primates whose authority did reach through whole Islands. Nay, if the Doctors rule out of *Theodorit* were good, it would serve for a bishop of the plurality cur. For it is said he placed Presbyters city by city, or Towne by Towne, who are in name onely bishops, but not that he placed Angels or Apostles in any part of it. He therefore was the sole bishop of them, the rest were but Presbyters, such as had the name, not the office and government of Bishops.

Finally, were it granted that they were ordinary bishops, and written to doe the things that bishops doe, yet would it not be a ground for their majority of power in matter sacramentall and jurisdiction, as is above excepted.

*The fifth Argument.*

The Ministers which the Church had generally and perpetually the first 300. yeares after Christ and his Apostles, and was not ordained by any generall Councell, were undoubtedly of Apostolicall institution. But the Church ever had Diocesan bishops in singularity of preheminence during life, and in majority of power of ordination and jurisdiction above others, and these not instructed by generall Councells. Ergo, The proposition is plaine both by *Affinde Bape. contra Donat. lib. 4. & Epist. 118.* and by *Terul. Constat. id ab Apostolis traditum quod oportet Ecclesias Apostolorum suis sacrosanctam.* For who can thinke that all the Churches generally, would conspire to abolish the order of Christ planted by the Apostles, and

set up other Ministers then Christ had ordained. The assumption is plaine: for if the Church had Metropolitans anciently, and from the beginning, as the Councell of Nice testifieth, much more bishops. For Diocesan bishops must bee before them, they rising of combination of Cities and Dioces. And the councell of Ephesus testifieth, the government of those bishops of Cyprus, to have been ever from the beginning, according to the custome of old received. Yea, that the attempt of the bishop of Antioch, was against the Canons of the Apostles. Againe, *Cyprian* doth testifie, that long before his time, bishops were placed in all Provinces and Cities, besides the succession of bishops from the Apostles times: for they prove their originall to have beene in the Apostles times. Neither were they instituted by any generall councell. For long before the first generall councell, we read Metropolitans to have beene ordained in the Churches. Yea, *Jerom* himselfe is of opinion, that no councell of after times, but the Apostles themselves did ordaine bishops; for even since those contentions wherein some said, *I am Pauls, others, I am Apollas*, they were set up by generall decree: which could not bee made, but by the Apostles themselves. And in *Psal. 44.* hee maketh *David* to prophesy of bishops, who should be set up as the Apostles Successors.

*Answer.*

First, we deny the proposition. For first, this doth presuppose such an assistance of Gods Spirit with the Church, that she cannot generally take up any custome, or opinion, but what hath Apostolicall warrant, whereas the contrary may be shewed in many instances, Keeping of holy dayes was a generall practise through the Churches, before any councell enacted it, yet was no Apostolicall tradition. *Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22. Evangelium non imposuit hoc, ut dies festi observentur, sed homines ipsi sui quique locis ex more quodam introduxerant.* Taking the Eucharist fasting, the fasts on Wednesday, and Saturday, fasting in some fashion before Easter, ceremonies in baptising, the government of Metropolitans were generally received before any councell established.

2. It doth presuppose, that the Church cannot generally conspire in taking up any custome, if she be not led into it by some generall proponent, as a generall representative councell, or the Apostles, who were Oecumenicall Doctors, but I see no reason for such a presumption.

3. This doth presuppose, that something may be which is of Apostolicall authority, which neither directly nor consequently is included in the word written. For when there are some customes which have beene generall, which yet cannot be grounded in the word written, it is necessary by this proposition, that some things may



may be in the Church having authority Apostolicall, as being delivered by word unwritten. For they cannot have warrant from the Apostles but by word written or unwritten. To the prooffe we answer: That of *Tertullian* maketh not to the purpose, for hee speaketh of that which was in Churches Apostolicall, as they were now planted by them, which the sentence at large set downe will make cleare. *Sic ut stat id bonum quod prius, & id prius quod est ab initio, ab initio quod ab Apostolis, pariter utiq; constabit id esse ab Apostolis traditum quod apud Ecclesias Apostolorum fuit sacrosanctum.* Touching *Austines* rule we would aske what is the meaning of these words, *Non nisi Apostolica autoritate traditum rectissime creditur.* If they say his meaning is, that such a thing cannot but in their writings be delivered, they doe pervert his meaning, as is apparent by this, *Contr. Don. lib. 2. 27. Consuetudinem ex Apostolorum traditione venientem, sicut multa non inveniuntur in liberis eorum, & tamen quia custodiuntur per universam Ecclesiam, non nisi ab ipsis tradita & commendata creduntur.* And we wish them to shew from Scripture what they say is contained in it. If they yeeld, he doth meane as he doth of unwritten tradition, we hope they will not justifie him in this; we will take that liberty in him, which himselfe doth in all others, and give them good leave to use in his owne writings. Now count him in this to favour Traditions, as some of the Papists do not causelessly make this rule the measuring cord, which doth take in the latitude of all traditions: yet wee appeale to *Austines* judgement elsewhere, who though by this rule hee maketh a universall practise not begunne by Councells, an argument of Divine and Apostolicall authority, yet dealing against Donatists, *Lib. 1. Don. cap. 7.* hee saith, he will not use this argument, because it was but humane and uncertaine, *ne videar humanis argumentis illud probare, ex Evangelio profecto certa documenta.*

Wee answer to the assumption two things: First, it cannot be proved, that universally there were such Diocesan bishops as ours. For in the Apostles times it cannot be proved, that Churches which they planted were divided into a mother Church, and some Parochiall Churches. Now while they governed together in common with Presbyters, and that but one congregation, they could not be like our Diocesan bishops. And though there be doubtfull relations, that Rome was divided under *Sonarius*; yet this was not common through the Church. For *Tripertita* story testifieth, that till the time of *Sozomen*, they did in some parts continue together. *Trip. hist. lib. 1. cap. 19.* Secondly, those Bishops which had no more but one Deacon to helpe them in their ministry toward their Churches, they could not be Diocesan Bishops. But such in many parts the Apostles planted, as *Epiphanius* doth testifie. Ergo.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, such Countries as did use to have bishops in villages and little townes, could not have Diocesau b shops. But such there were after the Apostles times in Cyprus and Arabia, as *Sorex*. in his 7. booke, cap. 10. testifieth. Ergo, Diocesau bishops were never so universally received. Secondly, bishops came to be common by a Councell, saith *Ambrose*, *Prosperiente Concilio*. *Amb.* in 4. *ad Eph.* or by a Decree passing through the world: *ratio orbe decretum est*, saith *Ierom* *ad Evag.* which is to be considered not of one Oecumeniall Councell, but distributively, in that singular Churches did in their Presbyteries decree, and that so, that one for the most part followed another in it. This *interpretative*, though not *formaliter*, is a generall decree. But to thinke this was a decree of *Pauls*, is too too absurd. For besides that the Scripture would not have omitted a decree of such importance, as tended to the alteration of and consummation of the frame of Churches begun through all the world. How could *Ierom* (if this decree were the Apostles) conclude that bishops were above Presbyters *magis consuetudine Ecclesie*, then *Dominica dispositionis veritate*. If the Doct. do except, that custome is here put for *Apostolical institutum*; let him put in one for the other, and see how well it will become the sense. Let Bishops know they are greater then Priests rather by the Decree of the Apostle, then by the worth of Christs disposition. Is it not fine, that the Apostles should be brought in as opposites, facing Christ their Lord? And this conclusion of *Ierom* doth make me thinke that *decretum est* imported no more, then that it was tooke up in time for custome through the world. Which is elegantly said to be a decree, because custome groweth in time to obtaine *vim legis*, the force of a decree. But *Ambrose* his place is plain, *Prosperiente Concilio*, he meaneth not a councell held by Apostles. For he maketh this provision by councell to have come in when now in Egypt & Alexandria, Presbyters according to the custome of that Church, were not found fit to succeed each other, but they chose out of their presbyteries men of best desert. Now to *Heraclius* and *Dionysius*, there were a succession of Presbyters in the Church of Alexandria, as *Eusebius* and *Ierom* both affirme. Wherefore briefly, seeing no such universall custome can be proved, all the godly fathers never conspired to abolish Christs institution. Secondly, could a custome have prevailed with all of them, whom we have to *Constantines* time, yet it might enter and steale upon them through humane frailty, as these errors in doctrine did upon many otherwise godly and faithfull Martyrs: the rather because the alteration was so little at the first and Aristocraticall government was still continued. Thirdly, say, they had wittingly and wittingly done it through the world, they had not conspired, because they might have deemed such power in the Church, and themselves to doe nothing but what they might

with

with Christs good liking for the edification of it. How many of the chiefe Patrons of this cause, are at this day of this judgement, that if it were but an Apostolicall institution, as Apostolicall is contradicting to divine, they might change it. But if the Apostles did enact this order, as Legats and Embassadors of Christ, then is it not theirs, but Christs owne institution. What an Embassador speaketh as an Embassador, it is principally from him that sent him: but if they who were Legates, did not, bearing the person of Legats, but of ordinary Ecclesiasticall governours, decree this; then it is certaine, Church governours may alter it without treasonable conspiring against Christ.

As for those proofes, that Bishops have beene throughout all Churches from the beginning they are weak. For first, the Councell of Nice useth *an athenis*, not *simpliciter*, but *secundum quid*, in order happily to that time wherein the custome began, which was better knowne to them then to us: the phrase is so used, Act. 15.8. in respect of some things which had not continued many years. They cannot meane the Apostles times, for then Metropolitans should have actually beene from the Apostles time. Secondly, the phrase of the Councell of Ephesus, is likewise equivocal; for they have reference to the fathers of Nice, or at least the decrees of the fathers, who went before the Councell of Nice. For those words being added, *definiturum Nicene fidei*, seeme to expaine the former, *Canones Apostolorum*. It is plaine the decree of the Councell doth ascribe this thing onely to ancient custome, no lesse then that of Nice, Constantinople and Chalcedon; and therefore cannot rise to the authority of sacred Scriptures. Let him shew in all antiquity where sacred Scriptures are called Canons of the Apostles. Finally, if this phrase note rules given by the Apostles, then the Apostles themselves did set out the bounds of Cyprus and Antioch. As for the authority of Cyprian, he doth testifie what was *communiter* in his time, Bishops ordained in cities; not *universaliter*, as if there were no city but had some. Secondly, hee speaketh of Bishops who had their Churches included in Cities, not more then might meet together in one, to any common deliberations. They had no Diocesan Churches, nor were bishops who had majority of rule over their Presbyters, nor sole power of ordination. As for the Catalogue of succession, it is *pompae prior quam pugnae*; Rome can recite their successors. But because it hath had bishops. Ergo, Oecumenicall bishops is no consequence. All who are named bishops in the Catalogue, were not of one cut, and in that sense we controvert.

Touching that which doth improve their being constituted by any Councell, it is very weak. For though wee read of no generall

H

Councell,



Councell, yet there might be, and the report not come to us. Secondly, we have shewed, that the Councell of Nice doth not prove this that bishops were every where from the beginning; the phrase of from the beginning, being they respectively, not absolutely used. Neither doth *Jerom* ever contrary this: for hee doth not use those words in propriety, but by way of allusion; otherwise if hee did think the Apostle had published this decree, when the first to the Corinthians was written, how can he cite testimonies long after written, to prove that Bishops were not instituted in the Apostles time, but that they were ordained by the Church *jure Ecclesiastico*, when the time served for it.

*The fixt Argument.*

Such as even at this day are in the reformed Churches, such Ministers are of Christs institution. But Ministers having singularetie of preheminance and power above others, are amongst them, as the Superintendents in Germany. Ergo. *Ans.* The assumption is utterly denied. For Superintendents in Germany are nothing like our Bishops: they are of the same degree with other Ministers, they are onely Presidents while the Synod lasteth; when it is dissolved, their prerogative ceaseth: they have no prerogative over their fellow Ministers; they are subject to the Presbyteries, Zepp. lib. 3. cap. 10. pag. 24. The Synod ended, they returne to the care of their particular Churches.

*The seventh Argument.*

If it were necessary that while the Apostles lived, there should bee such Ministers as had preheminance and majority of power above others, much more after their departure. But they thought it necessary, and therefore appointed *Timothy* and *Titus*, and other Apostolike men furnished with such power. Ergo, much more after their departure. *Ans.* The assumption is denied, and formerly disproved: for they appointed no such Apostolicke men with Episcopall power, in which they should be succeeded.

*The eighth Argument.*

Such Ministers as were in the Apostles times not contradicted by them, were lawfull. For they would not have held their peace, had they knowne unlawfull Ministers to have crept into the Churches.

But there were before *Jobas* dead, in many Churches a succession of Diocesan Bishops, as in Rome, *Linus*, *Clement*, at Jerusalem *James Simon*, at Antioch, *Evdinus*, at Alexandria, *S. Mark*, *Anianus*, *Abilus*. Ergo, Diocesan Bishops be lawfull.

*Answer.* The assumption is denied: for these Bishops were but Presb.

Presbyters, Pastors of one congregation ordinarily meeting, governing with common consent of their Presbyteries. If they were affecting our bishops majority, they were in *Diotrophes* sufficiently contradicted.

*The ninth Argument.*

Those who have been ever held of a higher order than Presbyters, they are before Presbyters in preheminance, and majority of rule. But bishops have been held in a higher order by all antiquity. Ergo. The assumption is manifest: In the Council of Nice, Ancyra, Sardica, Antioch, Ministers are distinguished into three orders. *Ignatius*, *Clemens* in his Epistle to *James*, *Dionys. Arcop.* *du Caest.* *Hierom.* cap. 5. *Tertull.* *de fuga in persequutione*, & *de Baptismo*. *Ignatius* doth often testifie it. No wonder, when the Scripture it selfe doth call one of these a step to another, 1 Timoth. 3. 13. Cyprian. Lib. 4. Ep. 2. Council Ephes. Cap. 1. 2. 6. Yea the Council of Chalcedon counteth it sacriledge, to reduce a bishop to the degree of a Presbyter. This *Hierom* himselfe confirmeth, saying: That from *Marke* to *Heracles* and *Dionysius*, the Presbyters did set a bishop over them in higher degree.

*Answer.*

The Proposition is not true in regard of majority of rule. For no Apostle had such power over the meanest Deacon in any of the Churches. But to the Assumption we answer by distinction.

An order is reputed higher, either because intrinsically it hath a higher vertue, or because it hath a higher degree of dignity and honour. Now we deny that ever antiquity did take the bishop above his Presbyters to be in a higher order than a Presbyter, further then a higher order doth signifie an order of higher dignity and honor, *ἐξῆς ἢ ἱερέως* *ἢ presbyteri* *ἑστιν*, as the Council of Sardica speaketh. Which is further proved: because the fathers did not hold a bishop to differ from a Presbyter, as Presbyter from a Deacon. For these differ *genere proximo* 3. *Novarin* *Diaconi se ad ministerium non ad sacerdotum vocari*. But a bishop differeth from a Presbyter, as from one who hath the power of Priesthood no lesse then himselfe, and therefore the difference betwixt these, must be circumstantiall, not so essentiall as betwixt the other. Thus bishops and Archbishops are divers orders of bishops, not that one exceedeth the other, as a power of higher vertue, but of higher dignity than then the other. More plainly, There may be a fourefold difference in gradu. 1. in potestate gradus. 2. in Exercito. 3. in Dignitate. 4. in amplitudine Jurisdictionis. The first difference is not between a bishop and a Presbyter, according

cording to the common tenent of antiquity, or the Schoole, but on-  
 ly is maintained by such as hold the Character of a Priest and Bi-  
 shop inwardly, diverse one from the other. For as a bishop differ-  
 eth not in power and degree from an Archbishop, because nothing  
 an Archbishop can doe, as confirming, consecrating Bishops, &c.  
 but a bishop can doe also. So neither doth a Presbyter from a bi-  
 shop. *Obiect.* But the Priest cannot ordaine a Presbyter, and con-  
 firme as the bishop doth, and therefore differeth *Potestate gradus.*  
 To this I answer, that these authours meane not this difference in  
 power (*de fundamentall & remota potestate, sed amplata, immediata, &*  
*jam actu hoc um effectuum productiva*) as if Presbyters had not a re-  
 mote and fundamentall power to doe those things: but that they  
 have not, before they be ordained bishops, their power so enlarged,  
 as to produce these effects actually. As a boy hath a generative  
 faculty while he is a child, which he hath when he is a man, but yet  
 it is not in a child free from all impediment, that it can actually  
 beget the like. But this is too much to grant. For the power sacra-  
 mentall in the Priest, is an actuall power which hee is able to  
 performe and execute, nothing defective in regard of them, further  
 then they be with-held from the exercise of it. For that cause which  
 standeth in compleat actuality to greater & more noble effects, hath  
 an inferior & lesler of the same kind under it also, unless the appli-  
 cation of the matter be intercepted. Thus a Presbyter he hath a sa-  
 cramentall power standing in full actuality to higher sacramentall ac-  
 tions, & therefore cannot but have these inferior of confirmation and  
 orders in his power, further then they are excepted & kept from be-  
 ing applied to him. And therefore power sacramentall cannot be in a  
 Presbyter, as the generative faculty is in a child, for this is inchoate  
 onely, and imperfect, such as cannot produce that effect. The po-  
 wer of the Priest is compleat. Secondly, I say, these are no sacra-  
 mentall actions. Thirdly, were they, yet as much may be said to  
 prove an Archbishop a distinct order from a bishop, as to prove a  
 Presbyter and bishop differing in order. For it is proper to him  
 out of power to generate a bishop, other bishops laying on hands,  
 no otherwise then Presbyters are said to doe, where they joine with  
 their bishops. If that rule stand *non major ad minori*, nor yet *aequalis*  
*ab equali*, I marvel how bishops can beget bishops equally, yea superi-  
 or to them, as in consecrating the Lord Archbishop, & yet a Presbyter  
 may not ordaine a Presbyter. It doth not stand with their Episcopall  
 majority, that the rule (*every one may give that which he hath*) should  
 hold here in the exercise of their power. Those who are in one order  
 may differ *jura dicuntur* or *humano*. *Jura* differed from the Priests  
 not in power sacramentall, for they mighte all conferrence, and  
 make intercession. But the solemne intercession in the holy of holies  
 God



God did except and appropriate to the high Priest the type of Christ. Priests would have reached to this power of intercession in the holy place, or any act of like kinde: but that God did not permit that this should come under them, or they intermeddle in it. Thus by humane law the bishop is greater in exercise then the Priest. For though God hath not excepted any thing from the one free to the other, yet commonly confirmation, ordination, absolution by imposing hands in receiving Penitents, consecrating Churches and Virgines, have beene referred to the bishop for the honor of Priesthood, rather then any necessity of law, as *Jerom* speaketh. Finally, in dignity, those may differ many waies, who in degree are equall, which is granted by our adversaries in this cause. Yea, they say in amplitude of jurisdiction, as in which it is apparant an Archbishop exceedeth another. But were it manifest that God did give bishops Pastorall power through their Diocesse, and an Archbishop through his Province, though but when hee visiteth, this would make one differ in order from the other; as in this regard Evangelists differed from ordinary Pastors. But that jurisdiction is in one more then another, is not established, nor hath apparency in any Scripture.

To the proofes thereof I answer briefly: the one may be a step to the other, while they differ in degrees of dignities, though essentially they are but one and the same order. In this regard it may be sacriledge to reduce one, from the greater to the lesser, if he have not deserved it. As for that of *Jerom* it is most plaine, hee did meane no further order, but onely in respect of some dignities wherewith they invested their bishop, or first Prebyter, as that they did mount him up in a higher seat, the rest sitting lower about him, and gave him this preheminence to sit first as a Consull in the Senate, and moderate the carriage of things amongst them: this *Celsus gradus*, being nothing but his honourable *agros*, not importing sole authority. For by a Canon of Councell of Laodicea, wee finde that the bishop had this privilege to sit first, though Presbyters did together with him enter, and sit as Judges of equall commission. For though Deacons stood, Presbyters did alwaies sit *in circuitu Episcopi*.

10. Argument.

If bishops be that which *Jerom*, and the Apostles were, and Presbyters, be that which the Priests, and the 72. Disciples were, then the one are above the other in preheminence and power. But they are so: See *Jerom* to *Neptianum*. Ergo.

Answer.

If bishops, &c. and Presbyters, be that which the sonnes of *Aaron* and the 72. were, then there are different orders, &c. To these



may be added a third. That which *Moses* and the 70. *Seniors* were, that are the *bishops* and *Presbyters*. First, for the proposition it is not true, for first of *Aaron* and his sonnes, they were not orders different essentially in their power, but onely in degree of dignity, wherein the high Priest was above others. For every Priests power would have reached to that act which was reserved to the high Priest onely. Besides, when the high Priest was deceased or removed, the other Priests did consecrate the successeur, as *Sadock*. Finally, the one had for substance the same consecration that the other, neither had the high Priest any majority of directive or corrective power over others. So the Apostles, and 72. will not be found different in order; and therefore those who resemble these cannot be concluded to be of divers orders. For the Apostles and 72. differ no more then ordinary messengers who are impolyed in a set course, and extraordinary sent by occasion onely: They were both messengers, the Apostles *habitu* and abidingly, the other in act onely; and after a transitory manner.

Againe, had *Aaron* and his sonnes beene divers orders, differing essentially in the inward power of them, yet is not the proposition true, but with addition in this wise. Those who are indentially and formally that which *Aaron* and the Apostles were, and that which his sonnes, and the 72. were, they differ in degree essentially; not those who were this analogically by reason of some imperfect resemblance. For things may be said to be those things wherewith they have but imperfect similitude. In this sense onely the proposition is true.

Now to come to the assumption. First, touching *Aaron*, wee deny any bishop is as *Aaron* by divine institution, or by perfect similitude answering to him. But because *Aaron* was the first and high Priest, others inferiour: so it hath pleased the Church to imitate this pollicy, and make the bishop, as it were *Primum Presbyterum* or *Antistitem in primo ordine*, *Presbyters in secunda*. Whence Bishops may be said to be that which *Aaron* was through the Churches ordination, which she framed, looking to this patternne of government which God himselfe had set out in the old Testament. The fathers call them *Aaron* and his sonnes onely for some common analogy, which through the ordinance of the Church arose betwixt the bishops and Presbyters, and them; and conceive them to be so by humane accommodation, not by divine institution. But that they were so properly succeeding them as orders of Ministry typified by them by Gods owne appointment, this the fathers never thought. Christs priesthood, no mans, was properly typified in *Aaron*;

So touching the other part of the assumption, That Bishops and Presbyters are what Apostles, and the 72 were. The fathers many of them insist in this proportion, that as the Apostles and 72 were teachers, the one in a higher, the other in an inferiour order, so bishops and Presbyters, were by the Churches ordinance. This is the fathers phrase, to call them Apostles, who in any manner resemble the Apostles to call them, as *Ambrose*. Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors, who resemble these, and come in some common analogie nearest them, *Moses* and the 70 Seniors, who in any sort resembled them. Now the assumption granted in this sense maketh not against us. For they might be said these, if there were but diverse degrees of dignity amongst them, though for power of order by Gods institution they were all one. But some straine it further, and take it, that Christ instituting those two orders, did in so doing, institute Bishops and Presbyters, the one whereof succeeded the Apostles, the other the 72. and that thus the Fathers take it. To which I answer, First, in generall, this analogy of Apostles and 72: is not generally affected by them all. *Ignatius ad Smyrnenes* dicit *Apostoli Presbyteros successisse, Diaconos 72. discipulis*. *Clem. lib. 2. Const. cap. 30.* saith, That Bishops answer to God the Father, Presbyters to Christ, Deacons to the Apostles. *Irenaeus* doth manifestly make Presbyters (whom hee also calleth by name of Bishops in that Epistle, where hee maintaineth the Presbyters dignity) successors to the Apostles. The like hath *Cyprian*, *Apostolus id est Episcopus & presbyter*, that is, *ordinarius prepositus minorum Ecclesiarum*, as *Austin* speaketh, else it should bee all one with the former; when hee maketh the Presbyter as well as the Bishop to bee ordained in the Apostles. Finally, these Fathers who take the 72. to have beene Apostles, as well as the other, could not imagine this porportion of diverse orders set up in them. Secondly, if Christ in these instituted those other, it must bee one of these waies. First, hee did make these not onely Apostles, but Bishops, and so the 72. not onely his messengers for the time, but Presbyters also. Or, secondly, else hee did ordaine these as he did raise Manna, noting and prefiguring as by a type, a further thing which hee would worke: viz. that he would institute Bishops and Presbyters for Teachers ordinary in his Church: but both these are *gratia* spoken without any foundation or reason. For the first, wee have shewed that the Apostles could not bee Bishops ordinarily; nor yet the calling of these seventy two (which was to goe through all Cities Evangelizing) stand with Presbyters, Presbyters being given to Churches not *ἐκκλησίαις*, and there fixed. Neither can the latter be true: for  
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then Christ should have given a Sacrament, when he ordained his Apostles, and sent forth his 72. Secondly, the type or the shadow is lesse then the thing typified, the substance of it. But the giving Apostles was a greater thing then giving ordinary Pastors. Ergo. Thirdly, I say, that Christ did never ordaine that any should succeed the Apostles, or the 72. in regard of their order. There is a double succession, *in gradum*, or *in Caput*, as the jurists distinguish. *In gradum eundem*, as when one brother dying, another brother doth succeed him in the inheritance. *In Caput*, as when one not of the same degree and line doth come after another, as when a brother dying another doth inherit after him, not a brother, but a cousin to him. Thus the Apostles have no successors succeeding them *in gradum*, but such onely as follow them, being of other degrees, and in another line, as it were, in which sort every Pastor doth succeed them. But then they are said to succeed them, because they follow them, and after a sort resemble them, not because they hold the places which the Apostles did properly. *Apostoli in quantum ad Apostolatus non succedunt, Legato quatenus est Legatus non succedunt.* Fourthly, that the Presbyters doe as persons of a diverse order succeed the Apostles no lesse fully then any other. First, they must needs succeed them who are spoken to in them, whose duties are laid downe in that which the Apostles received in commandement. But the Presbyters were spoken to both in the Keyes, in the Supper, in the commandement of teaching and baptizing. Ergo, Presbyters must needs succeed the Apostles. Secondly, those whom the Apostles did institute in the Churches, which they had planned for their further building them up, they were their next successors. But the Apostles did commend the Churches to the care of Presbyters who might build them up, whom they had now converted. Ergo, these were their successors most proper and immediate. Thirdly, these to whom now taking their farewells they resigned the Churches, these were their successors. But this they did to Presbyters, Paul now never to see Ephesus more, *Act. 20.* Peter neere death, *1 Pet. 5. 2.* Ergo. Fourthly, if one Pastor or Minister doe more properly resemble an Apostle then another, it is because hee hath some power Apostolique more fully conveyed to him then to another. But this was not done. Ergo. The assumption is manifest: for first, their power of teaching and ministering the Sacraments doth as fully and properly belong to the Presbyter as to any, unless we count Preaching not necessarily connexed to a Presbyters office, but a bishop; or at least that a more rudimentall preaching belongs to a Presbyter, the more full and exact teaching being appropriate to the Bishop, which are both too absurd. Secondly, for government, the Apostles did no more give the power of government to

one then to another. *Obje<sup>ct</sup>*. This is denied, for the Apostles are said to have kept the power of ordination, and the coercive power in their owne hands, and to have committed these in the end onely to Apostolike men, as *Timothy*, *Titus*, who were their successors, succeeding them in it. *Ans<sup>wer</sup>*. A notable fiction: for it is most plaine by Scripture; that ordination, power of deciding controversies, excommunication, were given to Presbyters, and not kept up from them; they should otherwise have provided ill for the Churches which they left to their care. Secondly, if the Apostles did commit some ordinary power of government to some men above others, in which regard they should be their successors, then the Apostles did not onely enjoy as *Legates* power over the Churches, but as ordinary Ministers. For what power they enjoyed as *Legates*, this they could not *alien* *Legate*. Power as ordinary Pastors in any Nations or Churches they never reserved, and therefore did never substitute others to themselves in that which they never exercised nor enjoyed. And it is to be noted, that this opinion of Episcopall succession from the Apostles is grounded on this, that the Apostles were not onely Apostles, but Bishops in Provinces and particular Churches. For the Papists themselves urged with this, that the Apostles have none succeeding them, they doe consider a double respect in the Apostles, the one of *Legates*, so *Peter*, nor any other could have a successor. The other of bishops, *Oecumenicall* in *Peter*, of Bishops Nationall or Diocesan, as in some other. Thus onely considered, they grant them to have other Bishops succeeding them: For the Apostolick power precisely considered, was *Privilegium personale simul cum persona extinguitur*. Now we have proved that this ground is false, and therefore that succeeding the Apostles, more appropriate to Bishops then other Ministers grounded upon it, is false also.

Lastly, the Presbyters cannot be said successors of the seventy two. For first, in all that is spoken to the seventy two, the full duty and office of a Presbyter is not laid downe. Secondly, it doth not appeare that they had any ordinary power of preaching or baptizing and ministering the other Sacrament. For they are sent to Evangelize, to preach the Gospell: but whether from power of ordinary office, or from commission and delegation onely for this present occasion it is doubtful. Thirdly, it is not read that they ever baptized, or had the power of administering the Supper given to them: Yea, that they had neither ministry of Word or Sacraments *ex officio ordinatio*, seemeth hence plaine; That the Apostles did choose them to the Deacons care, which was so cumberlome that themselves could not tend the ministry of the Word with it, much lesse then could these not having such extraordinary gifts as the Apostles had. Fourthly, if they were set Ministers, then were they Evangelists in destination. For the act  
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enjoyed them, is from City to City, without limitation to Evangelists; and after we read of some, as *Philip*, that he was an Evangelist; the same is in ecclesiasticall story testified of some others. Thus we Presbyters should succeed Evangelists those Apostolique men, whom the Apostles constituted Bishops, and by consequence be the true successors of the Apostles. These Evangelists succeeded them by all grant, we succeed these. Finally, *Armalhasus* doth take it else 72. to have been ordinary disciples, in his 7. *Book Armenicarum quest. cap. 7.*

#### 11 Argument.

Those who receive a new ordination are in a higher degree in a new administration, and a new order. But Bishops doe so. Ergo.

#### Answer.

The proposition is denyed: for it is sufficient to a new ordination that they are called to exercise the Pastorall function in a new Church, where before they had nothing to doe. Secondly, I answer by distinction, a new order, by reason of new degrees of dignity, this may be granted: but that therefore it is a new order, that is, having further ministeriall power in regard of the Sacraments and jurisdiction given it of God, is not true. Hath not an Archbishop a distinct ordination or consecration from a Bishop? yet is he not of any order essentially differing. The truth is, ordination, if it be looked into, is but a canonicall solemnity which doth not collate that power Episcopall to the now chosen, but onely more solemnly and orderly promotes him to the exercise of it.

#### 12 Argument.

Those Ministers whereof there may be but one onely during life in a Church, they are in singularity of preeminence above others. But there may be but one Bishop, though there may be many other Presbyters, one *Timothy*, one *Titus*, one *Arcinippus*, one *Eusebius*. Ergo. For proove of the assumption. See *Cornelius*, as *Eusebius* relateth his sentence, *lib. 6. cap. 43.* *Cons. Nix. cap. 8.* *Cons. Colad. cap. 4.* *Possidonius in vita Augustine. Ierom. Phil. 1. ver. 1.* *Thyrsast. Amb. Theod. Occumen.* And such was Bishops preeminence, that Presbyters, Deacons, and other Clerkes, are said to be the Bishops Clerks.

#### Answer.

I answer to the Assumption. That there may be said to be but one Bishop in order to other Coadjutors and Associates within the same Church. It may be said, there must be but one Bishop in order to all the other Churches of the Cities. Secondly, this may be affirmed as standing by Canon, or as div'n: institution. Now the assumption is true, onely by Law Ecclesiasticall. For the Scripture is said to have placed Presbyters who did *Superintendere*, *Act. 20.* and that



that there were Bishops at *Philiippi*. True it is, the Scripture doth not distinguish how many of the one sort, nor how many of the other, because no doubt for the number of the Congregations, a single Presbyter labouring in the Word, or two, the one coadjutor to the other might be placed. Secondly, it is testified by *Epiphanius*, that ordinarily all Cities but *Alexandria* had two. Thirdly, *Jerom* on 1 Tim. 3. doth say, that now indeed there may be but one Bishop, meaning Canonically, making a difference twixt the present time and time Apostolique. Fourthly, *Austin* did not know it was unlawfull: Yea, he did onely in regard of the decree of Nice, account it so, *Ep* 110. neither did Church or people ever except against the contrary, but as a point against Canon, which might in some cases be dispensed with, as the story of *Narcissus*, and *Alexander*, and *Liberius*, and *Felix* did more then manifest. For though the people of Rome cried out, one God, one Christ, one Bishop, yet they yielded at their Emperours suite, whereas had it beene a thing they had all thought to have been against Christs institution, they would not have done. *Uda Soc. lib. 4. cap. 14.* Fifthly, *Jerom* peerelesse power, is nothing but Consul-like preidence above others; for this he pleaded for, writing against *Iovinian*, *lib. 1.* amongst the Apostles themselves, that schisme might be avoided. Wherefore we yeeld the conclusion in this sense, that the Bishop *jura humana*, hath a singularity of preheminance before others, as by Ecclesiasticall law there might be but one onely Archbishop.

### 13 Argument.

Those who had peerelesse power above others in ordination and jurisdiction, they were such as had preheminance and majority of rule over others. But the former is due to Bishops. Unless this singularity of power were yeilded, there would be as many schismes as Priests. Ergo. The assumption proved. *Those who have a peculiar power of ordination above others, they are in preheminance and power before others. But Bishops have, Ergo, they are in, &c.* The assumption proved. That which was not in the Presbyters of *Ephesus* and *Cyete* before *Timothy* and *Titus* were sent, but in the Apostles, and after in *Timothy* and *Titus* and their successors, that is a peculiar of Bishops. But ordination was not in the Presbyters, &c. Ergo. The assumption proved. That which these were sent to doe, Presbyters had not power to doe. It was therefore in them, and such as succeeded them, the Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Cyete*. Again, the Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, speake of the ordeynor as one. Ergo, it was the peculiar right of the Bishop, and the Bishop onely. He onely by Canon was punishable for irregularity in ordination. And *Epiphanius* maketh this the proper power of a Bishop to beget fathers by ordination, as the

Presbyters doth sonnes by baptisme. And *Jerom* doth except ordination as the bishops peculiar, wherein he is most unquell to them.

*Answer.*

I answer the proposition of the first syllogisme by distinction. Those who have peerelesse power in regard of the simple right to ordeine: viz in regard of exercising the act, and sole performing the rite of it, thoe who have a right to these things originally from Christ and his Apostles, which no others have, they are above others in degree. Again, peerelesse power in a bishop over Presbyters may be said in comparison to them distributively or collectively considered. He that hath peerelesse power given him, which no one of the other hath, is not presently of a greater degree, nor hath not majority of rule amongst others, as a Consul in the Senate: but if he have a peerelesse power, such as they all collectively considered, cannot controule, then the Proposition is true; but the Assumption will then be found to halt.

To the proove of the assumption. The Proposition is true of power in order to the thing it selfe, not to ministering the rite, and executing the act, which may be reserved for honour sake to one, by those who otherwise have equall power with him. That bishops have this power in order, the thing it selfe agreeing to them, *Proprii officii*, not by commission from others, we deny. The assumption is wholly denied. As for the proove of it. First, we that deny that Evangelists had not power to ordeine, as well as Apostles. Secondly, that Presbyters had not this power in a Church planted as well as they. Every one as fellow servants might conspire in the same ordination. The Evangelists power did not derogate from the Apostles, the Presbyters from neither of them. But power of imposing hands solitarily, whereas y<sup>e</sup> Churches were not constituted, this may happily be appropriated to the Apostles and Evangelists, whose office it was to labour in erecting the frame of Churches. Secondly, the assumption is false; in denying that it was in the power of Presbyters to lay on hands, contrary to that in *Timothy*; *The grace given thee by laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*. Thirdly, it is false, in presupposing others then Presbyters to have bene *Timothy* and *Titus* their successors. To the proove of this assumption. The proposition is not true: For it might be convenient that the same thing should be done by Evangelists, and by ordinary Pastors, each concurring in their severall orders to the same service of Christ the Lord. Secondly, I answer to the assumption. That Presbyters were to be placed in Churches framed where there were Presbyters, or where there were as yet none. In the  
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first Churches, they are bid ordaine, if any need further, but *ad hoc* *jure Ecclesie*, not without the concurrence of others. In the later Churches which were to be constituted, they may be conceived as Evangelists, with sole power of setting Presbyters forth by this rite of imposition of hands. We hold Apostles might doe it, Evangelists might, and the Presbyteries also. Yea, Presbyters in Alexandria when now their first Presbyter was deceased, did ordaine the following: For the Canon of three bishops, and Metropolitans, added by the Nicene Councell, was not knowne yet. Nevertheless it grew timely to be restrained to bishops, the performing I meane of the outward rite and signe; but onely by Canon, as Consecration was also, for which there is as ancient testimonies as this, that it was appropriate to the Bish. We grant therefore that antiquity doth sometime speake of the ordainer as one. In the Churches of Affrica one did not lay on hands, yet in some other Churches the rite was by one administered. And it is to be noted by the way, that *vis ex iuxta* in some Canons is not opposed to the Coordinating of Presbyters, but to the number of *Three*, or many bishops required in the ordination of a bishop. They might therefore by their Canons be punishable, because regularly and canonically the executing of it was committed to them. This is all that *Epiphanius* or *terentius* excepta ordinatione can prove. But these two conclusions we would see proved out of Scriptures and Fathers. First, that ordination is an action of power, of order, a power sacramentall, which a Presbyter hath not. Secondly, that by vertue of this power, the bishop doth ordaine, and not by Ecclesiasticall right or commission from the Church. Certainly, the act of promoting a minister of the Church, is rather an act of jurisdiction then order. As it belongeth to policy and government, to call new Magistrates, where they are wanting. *Obiect.* But a new spirituall officer may be instituted by a sacrament. *Answer.* If God would so have collated the grace of spirituall callings; but he hath appointed no such thing. The Apostles and ya. were not instituted by a sacrament or imposition of Christs hands. Now the greater the grace was which was given, the more need of a sacrament whereby it should be given. *Obiect.* They were extraordinary. *Answer.* They might have had some ambulatory sacrament for the time. Again, imposition of hands was used in giving extraordinary graces, Acts 8. Secondly, were it a sacrament, it should conferre the grace of office, as well as grace sanctifying the person to use it holily. But we see that this it could not do: As for *Paul* and *Barnabas* the Church did separate them at the command of God, and lay hands on them, and pray for them, but they were already before this immediately chosen by God to the grace of their office. It could be nothing then but a gesture accompanied with prayer, seeking grace



grace in their behalfe. For the sacramentall collating of grace sanctifying all callings, we have in these two sacraments of Christs institution. Thirdly, there are many kindes of imposition of hands in the old and new Testament, yet cannot it be proved, that it is any where a proper sacrament. It is then a rite, a gesture, a ceremony, signifying a thing or person separate, presented to God, prayed for to God. Thus Antiquity did thinke of it, as a gesture of one, by prayer to God, seeking a blessing on every one chosen to this or that place of ministry. So Ecclesiastically it was used in baptizing, in consecrating, in reconciling penitents, as well as ordaining: but never granted as a sacrament in those other cases by grant of all. It is then a rite or gesture of one, praying. *Tertul. de bapt.* sheweth this saying, *Manus imponitur per benedictionem advocati & invitanti spiritum sanctum.* Ierom also *contra Luciferanos*, *Non abusus, hanc esse Ecclesie consuetudinem ut Episcopus manum imposturus extorreat ad invocationem spiritus sancti.* *Ambr. de dignit. sacerdot.* *Sacerdos imponit super pectus dextram.* *August.* *Quid aliud est manus impositio quam oratio?* &c. The Greeke Churches have ever given Orders by a forme of prayer conceived with imposition of hands. Hence it is, that they imposed hands even on Deaconesses, where it could not be otherwise considered then a deprecative gesture. Neither is it like the African Fathers ever thought it a sacrament, which no other had vertue and power to minister, but the Bishop. For then they would never have admitted Presbyters to use the same rite with them. For so they had suffered them to prophane a sacrament, wherein they had no power to intermeddle. *Object.* If one say they did lay on hands with them, but the Bishops imposition was properly *consecrative* and sacramentall, this is *deprecative* onely. *Answer.* Besides that this is spoken without foundation, how absurd is it, that the very selfsame sacramentall rite should be a sacrament in one ministers hand, and no sacrament performed by another: Yes, when the Bishop doth it to a Presbyter, or Deacon, then a sacrament; when to a Subdeacon, and other inferiour officers, then none, let any judge. *Austin* did account no other of imposition of hands, then a prayer over a man, accompanied with that gesture. Secondly, they doe not thinke that the Bishop ordaineth by divine right, it being excepted to him as a minister of higher sacramentall power: but that he onely doth ordaine *quod signum & ritum extrinsecum*, by the Churches commission, though the right of ordaining be in all the Presbytery also. As in a Colledge the society have right to choose a fellow, and to ordaine him also, though the master doth alone lay on hands, and give admission. Thus *Ierom* speaketh of confirmation, that it was referred to the Bishop for honour sake, rather

rather then any necessity of Gods law. Whence by analogie and proportion, it followeth they thinke not ordination, or those other Episcopall royalties to have beene reserved to him by divine right. Beside, there are more ancient proofes for Canonically appropriating confirmation, then for this imposition of hands. *Cornelius* speaketh thus of *Novatus*, he wanted those things which he should have had after Baptisme, according to the Canon, the sealing of our Lord from a Bishop, *Euseb. Lib. 6. cap. 29.* So *Cyprian* to *Iul.* Nevertheless, *Ierom* judgeth this also to have beene yeelded them for honour sake. And we know that in the Bishops absence, Presbyters through the East did *Consecrate*, through Grecia, through Armenia. Neither would *Gregory* the great have allowed Presbyters in the Greeke Churches to have confirmed, had he judged it otherwise then Canonically to belong to the bishops. That therefore which is not properly a sacramentall action, and that which is not appropriate to a bishop further then Presbyters have committed it to him, that cannot make him in higher degree of ministry then Presbyters are.

Thirdly, in reconciling penitents, the Presbyters did it in case of the bishops absence: as is to be gathered from the third Councell of Carthage, 32. And who thinkes blessing so appropriate to a bishop, that Presbyters may not solemnly blesse in the name of the Lord, though antiquity reserved this to him. These therefore were kept to him, not as acts exceeding the Presbyters power of order, but for the supposed honour of him and the Church. For as *Ambrose* saith, *Ut omnes eadem possint irrationale, et vulgare, vñsq; videtur.* It pleaseth antiquity therefore to set up one who should *quod exercitium* doe many things alone, not because that Presbyters could not, but it seemed in their eyes more to the honor of the Church, that some one should be interested in them.

Fourthly, *Amalarinus* in a certaine booke of sacred orders, doth confute the doctrine of an uncertain author, who taught that one bishop onely was to lay hands on a Deacon: because he was consecrated not to Priesthood, but to ministry and service. *Nonquid scriptor libelli doctior et sanctior Apostolis qui posuerunt plures manus super Diaconos quando consecrabantur, et propterea solus Episcopus manus ponat super Diaconum, ac si solus possit precari virtutem gratiarum quam plures Apostoli precabantur. Opus inum est bonus dux sequi, qui ceteraverunt usq; ad plenum villam.* Whence it is plaine, he did know no further thing in imposition then prayer, which the more imposed, is the more profitable.

*The fourteenth Argument.*

Those who had jurisdiction over Presbyters assisting them, and Presbyters affixed to Cures, they had a superiority of power over other ministers. But bishops had so, Ergo, &c.

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The Assumption is manifest. *Ignatius* describeth the Bishop from this, that he should be the governour of the Presbytery and whole Church *ἐκκλησίας ὅλης*. And *Ierom* and *Austin* on the 44. Psalm, call them the Princes of the Church, by whom she is governed. The assumption is proved particularly. Those who had directive power above others, and corrective, they had majority of rule. But Bishops had. Ergo. The assumption proved. First, for directive power, the Presbyters were to doe nothing without them. *Ignat.* ad *Mag.* ad *Smyr.* They might not minister the sacrament of the Supper but under the Bishop, *Clem. Epist.* 1. ad *Jauch. Tert. lib. de bapt. Can. Apost.* 38, *Can. Carthag.* 4. 38. *Can. Car.* 2. *Can.* 9. *Can. Gen.* 16. *Conc. Arel.* *Can.* 5.

Secondly, that they had corrective power, it is proved, *Apost.* 1 & 3. The Angel of *Ephesus* did not suffer false Apostles, and is commended for it, the Angel of *Thiatira* is reproved for suffering the like. Therefore they had power over other ministers. *Cypri.* lib. 3. *Epist.* 9. telleth *Rogatian* he had power to have censured his Deacon. *Ierom.* *adversus Vigilantiam*, marvelleth that the Bishop where *Vigilantius* was, did not breake the unprofitable vessell. *Epiphanius* saith Bishop governed the Presbyters themselves, they the people. The Presbyters affixed to places and Churches, were subject to the Bishop, for when they were vacant, the bishop did supply them. Againe, the Presbyters had their power from him, and therefore were under him, and they were subject to the censure of the bishop. Those of his Clergie were under him; for he might promote them, they might not goe from one Diocesse to another without him, nor travell to the citie, but by his leave. The bishop was their judge, and might excommunicate them, *Cypri.* li. 1. *Epist.* 3. *Concil.* *Carth.* 4. cap. 59. *Conc.* *Chal.* cap. 9. *conc.* *Nice.* cap. 4. *conc.* *Arel.* cap. 4. *ibid.* cap. 6. cap. 12. *Cart.* 2. cap. 7. *conc.* *Afric.* cap. 29. *conc.* *Ephes.* cap. 5. *conc.* *Chal.* cap. 23. The examples of *Alexander* and *Chrysostome* prove this. All Presbyters were counted *asephali*, headlesse, that lived not in subjection to a bishop. The Pastors of parishes were either subject to bishops, or they had associates in Parishes joyned with them, or they ruled alone. But they had not associates, neither did they rule alone. Ergo, they were subject to the authority and jurisdiction of the bishop.

*Answer.*

The proposition of the first Syllogisme it must be thus framed. Those who had power of jurisdiction in themselves, without the concurrence of other Presbyters, as fellow judges, they were greater in majority of rule. Thus bishops had not jurisdiction. True it is, they were called governours and Princes of their Churches, because they were more eminent ministers, though they had  
not



not Monarchiall power in Churches, but Confull-like authority: and therefore when they affected this Monarchy, what said Ierem, *Novimus se sacerdotes esse non dominos, novimus se non ad Principum vocatos, ad servitium totius Ecclesie.* Sic Origin in Esa. hom. 7.

To the prooffe of the Assumption. Wee deny that they had this directive power over all Presbyters. Secondly, that they had it over any by humane constitution infallible. Presbyters were in great difference. Those who are called *proprii sacerdotes, Rectores, Seniores, Minorum Ecclesiarum proprii*, the B shop had not, not challenged not that directive power over them, which hee did over those who were numbred amongst his Clerickes, who were helpees to him in the Liturgy, in Chapells and parishes which did depend on him as their proper teacher, though they could not so ordinarily goe out to him. The first had power within their Churches, to teach, administer, excommunicate, were counted brethren to the b shops, and called *Episcopi*, or *Coeppiscopi*, even of the Ancient: But the Presbyters which were part of their Clergy, they had this directive power over them, the Canons Ecclesiasticall allowing the same. But I take these latter to have beene but a corruption of governing Presbyters, who came to bee made a humane ministry. 1. by having singulare acts permitted. 2. by being consecrate to this, and so doing *ex officio*, what they were imployed in by the bishop. But sure these are but helpees to liturgy, according to the Canons. Preaching did not agree to them further then it could bee delegated or permitted. Finally, wee read, that by law it was permitted them: that it was taken away from them againe by the bishops: that it was stated and limited sometimes as to the opening of the Lords Praier, the Creed and ten Commandements: as it is plaine to him that is any thing conversant in the ancient. Secondly, let us account them as Ministers of the word given by God to his Church: then I say, they could not have any direction, but such as the Apostles had amongst Evangelists: and this power is given to the bishops onely by canon swerving from the first ordinance of Christ: for it maketh a Minister of the word become as a cypher, without power of his consecration, as Ierem speaketh, being so interpreted by *piscus* himselfe. These decrees were as justifiable as that which forbiddeth any to baptise, who hath not gotten chrisme from the bishop *Con. Carth. 4. cap. 36.* unless the phrases doe note onely a precedence of order in the b shop above Presbyters, requiring presence and assent, as of a fellow and chiefe member, not otherwise.

To the proof of the second part of the former assumption, i. we deny this majority of corrective power to have beene in the Apostles themselves: they had only a ministry executive inflicting that which



Christ's corrective power imposed. Secondly, we deny that this inferi-  
 orial power of censuring was singularly exercised by any Apostle  
 or Evangelist, where Churches were constituted. Neither is the writ-  
 ing to one above others, an argument that he had the power to doe  
 all alone without concurrence of others. To that of *Cyprian* against  
*Regatian*; we deny that *Cyprian* meaneth he would have done it alone,  
 or that he and his Presbytery could have done it without the con-  
 sent of Bishops neighbouring: but that he might in regular manner  
 have beene bold to have done it, because he might be sure, *quod non  
 collegae tui omnes id ratum haberemus.* *Cyprian* was of judgement, that  
 he himselfe might doe nothing without the consent of his Presby-  
 ters, unlesse he should violate his duty, by running a course which  
 stood not with the honour of his brethren. It was not modestly in  
 him; but due observancy, such as he did owe unto his brethren. Nei-  
 ther did *Cyprian* ever ordinarily any thing alone. He received some,  
 the people and the brethren contradicting, *lib. 1. epist. 3.* but not till he  
 had perswaded them, and brought them to be willing. *Thou shalt*  
*(saith he) what paines I have to perswade the brethren to patience.* So  
 againe, *I hardly perswade the people, yea even wring it from them, that such*  
*should be received.* Neither did he take upon him to ordaine Presbyters  
 alone: but propounded, made request for them, confessing, that fur-  
 ther then God did extraordinarily prevent both him and them, they  
 had the right of suffrage, no lesse then himselfe, as by these epistles  
 may appeare, *lib. 1. epist. 20. lib. 2. epist. 5. lib. 4. epist. 10.* *Ierom* (though  
 grandiloquent sometimes) did never thinke a Bishop could lawfully  
 without his Presbyteries concurrence, excommunicate. If he were  
 as *Mises*, yet he would have these as the seventy. Againe, *Ierom*  
 doth write expressly of all in generall, *Et nos senatum habemus,  
 totum Presbyterium, sine quorum consilio nihil agi à quoquam li-  
 cet, sicut Romani habuerunt senatum cujus consilio cuncta gerebantur.*  
*Epiphanius* saith, Bishops governed Presbyters: but it doth not fol-  
 low, that therefore they did it alone without concurrence of their  
 com-Presbyters. As for the fixed Presbyters, the proofes are more  
 insufficient. The Bishop supplied them, therefore they were under  
 him. For Colleges supply Churches, yet have they no jurisdiction  
 over them. Secondly, the canons did provide *ne plebi invitis Presby-  
 ter obtruderetur.* Thirdly, we distinguish majority of rule from some  
 jurisdiction. We grant the Bishop had such a jurisdiction as concer-  
 ning the Church, so farre as it was in society with others, such as an  
 Arch-bishop hath over a Province: but this did stand with the Re-  
 ctors power of jurisdiction within his owne Church. Fourthly, though  
 they had power by his ministeriall interposition, yet this doth not  
 prove them dependant on him. For bishops have their power from  
 others ordaining them, to whom notwithstanding they are not sub-  
 ject

ject in their Churches: In case of delinquency they were subject to the bishop with the Presbytery, yet so that they could not be proceeded against till consent of many other bishops did ratifie the sentence. Thus in *Cyprian* judgement; bishops themselves delinquent, turning wolves, as *Samofaternus*, *Liberius*, &c. are subject to their churches and Presbyteries, to be deposed and relinquished by them: As for those that were part of his clerks, it is true, they were in greater measure subject to him, absolutely in a manner for their direction: but for his corrective power he could not without consent of his Presbyters and fellow bishops, do any thing. The bishop indeed is onely named many times: but it is a common Synecdoche, familiar to the Faithers, who put the primary member of the church for the representative church, as *Aufine* saith, *Petrus propter Apostolicam simplicitatem figuram Ecclesie expressisse*. See concil. Sardicen. cap. 17. conc. Carth. 4. cap. 2. 3. Tol. 4. cap. 4. Socr. lib. 1. 3. Soz. lib. 1. cap. 14. As for such examples as *Alexanders*, it is strange that any will bring it, when he did it not without a Synod of many bishops, yea without his Clergie, as sitting in judgement with him. *Chrysostomes* fact is not to be justified: for it was altogether irregular, favouring of the impetuous nature to which he was inclined, though in regard of his end, and unworthinesse of his Presbyters, it may be excused, yet it is not to be imitated. As for those headlesse Clerkes, it maketh nothing for the Bishops majority of rule over all Churches and Presbyters in them. For first, it seemeth to be spoken of those that lived under the conduct of the Bishop, a collegiat life together, *Adi a refectorio & dormitori utbanur, & Canonicis viventes ab Episcopo instructabantur*. Now when all such Clerkes did live then as members of a Colledge under a master, it is no wonder if they be called headlesse, who did belong to no Bishop. Secondly, say it were alike of all Presbyters, which will never be proved (for all Presbyters in the Diocesse were not belonging to the Bishops Clerkes) say it were, yet will it not follow, that those who were under some, were subject to his authority of rule. For there is a head in regard of presidency of order, as well as of power. Bishops were to finde out by Canon the chiefe bishop of their Province, and to associate themselves with him. So bishops doe now live ranged under their Archbishops as heads. Priests therefore as well as Clerkes, did live under some jurisdiction of the bishops; but such as did permit them coercive power in their owne Churches, such as made the bishop a head in regard of dignity, and not of any power, whereby he might sway all at his pleasure. Thirdly, if the bishops degenerate to challenge Monarchy or tyranny, it is better to be without such heads then to have them: as we are more happy in being withdrawn from the headship of the bishop of Rome, then if he still were head over us.

To the last insinuation, proving that bishops had the government of those Churches which Presbyters had, because neither Presbyters alone had it, nor with assistants. I answer, they had as well the power of government, as of teaching: and though they had not such assistants as are the presbyters of a cathedral church, yet they might have some, as a deacon, or other person sufficient in such small Churches. When the Apostles planted a bishop and Deacon onely, how did this bishop excommunicate? When the fathers of Africa did give a bishop unto those now multiplied, who had enjoyed but a Presbyter, what assistants did they give him? what assistants had the *Chonopiscopi*, who yet had government of their Churches?

*The fifth Argument.*

That which the orthodox churches ever condemned as heretic, the contrary of that is truth. But in *Atrius* they have condemned the denial of superiority in one Minister above others. Ergo, the contrary is truth.

*Answer.*

To the proposition, we deny that it must needs be presently true, the contrary whereof is generally condemned for heretic. As the representative catholicke Church may propound an error, so she may condemne a particular truth, and yet remaine a catholicke church. To the assumption wee deny that the Church condemned in *Atrius* every denyall of superiority, but that onely which *Atrius* runne into. Now his opinion I take to have been this. 1. He did with *Ierom* deny superiority of any kinde as due by Christs ordinance: for this opinion was never counted heretic, it was *Ierom* plainly. 2. Hee did not deny the fact, that bishops were superiour in their actuall administration; he could not be so mad. If he had all that a bishop had actually, how could he have affected to be a bishop, as a further honour? Deniall of superiority, such as consisteth in a further power of order then a Presbyter hath, and in a kingly monarchicall majority of rule, this denyall is not here condemned: for all the fathers may be brought as witnesses against this superiority of the Church. What then was condemned in him? A deniall of all superiority in one minister before another, though it were but of honor and dignity: and secondly, the denying of this in schismaticall manner, so as to forsake communion with the Church wherein it is. For in these words, *ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία διαπορεύεται ἐν ἑκτονῇ αὐτῆς πρεσβυτέρῳ*, it seemeth *ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία* should bee read *ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία*, that there ought to be none. Howsoever hee is to bee conceived as apposing practically the difference of honour & dignity which was in the Church by Ecclesiasticall institution. What is this to us? Deniall of superiority in regard of honor & dignity, joynd with schisme, was condemned: Ergo, deniall of superiority in power of order and kingly majority of rule, keeping the bond of love was condemned.

The assumption therefore if it assume not of this last denial, then can it not conclude against us. Ergo, it is a truth that some Ministers may be above othersome, in order, honor, and dignity. But they understand not by order such an order onely as is distinct, because some degree of dignity is appropriate to it, which is not to other. Though this argument therefore touch us not, yet to speake a little further about it, this opinion of *Atrius* is not to be handled too severely: neither our authors, *D. Whitakerus*, *D. Reynolds*, *Danew*, to be blamed, who doe in some sort excuse him. For bishops were growne such that many good persons were offended at them, as the *Audians*. Yea, it was so ordinary, that *serum* distinguisheth schisme from heresie, because the one contained assertions against the faith, the other served from the Church by reason of dissenting from Bishops. See him on Tit. 3. 10. Neither is it plain that he was an Arian. *Epiphanius* reporteth it, but no other, though writing of this subject and story of these times. Sare it is, *Eusebius* was a strong Arian, whom *Atrius* did oppose. Neither is it strange to bishops to fasten on those which dissent from them in this point of their seehold, any thing whereof there is but ungrounded suspicion. Are not we traduced as Donatists, Anabaptists, Puritans? As for this opinion, they thought it rather schismaticall, then hereticall, & therefore happily called it heresie, because it included error in their understanding, which with schismaticall pertinacy was made heresie. Neither is it like that *Epiphanius* doth otherwise count it heresie, nor *Austin* following him. For though *Austin* was aged, yet he was so humble, that hee saith, *Augustinus sum a patre nondum annulo parvulus sum adocui*. Neither was it prejudice to his worth for to follow men more ancient then himselfe, who in likelihood should know this matter also better. As for his calling it heresie, it is certaine he would not have this in rigour streined. For he doth protest (in his preface unto that booke of heresie) that none to his thought, can in a regular definition comprehend what that is which maketh this or that to be heresie. Though therefore he doubted, not of this, that *Atrius* was in error, such as Catholics should decline: yet it doth not argue that hee thought this error in rigour and former propriety, to have beene heresie. Thus much for this last Argument.

On the contrary side I propound these Arguments following to be seriously considered.

*Argument. 1.*

Those whom the Apostles placed as chiefe, in their first constituting of Churches, and left as their successors in their last farewell which they gave to the Churches; they had none superiour to them in the Churches. But they first placed Priest yeare, feeding



with the Word and governing; and to those in their last departing they commended the Churches. Ergo. The assumption is denied: they did not place them, as the chiefe ordinary Pastors in those churches, but placed them to teach and governe, *in foro intimo*; with a reference of subordination to a more eminent Pastor, which when now they were grown to a just multitude should be given to them. The Apostles had all power of order and jurisdiction: they gave to Presbyters power of order, power to teach, minister sacraments, and so gather together a great number of those who were yet to be converted; but kept the coercive power in their owne hands, meaning, when now by the Presbyters labour, the churches were growne to a greater multitude, meaning (I say) then to sit over them some more eminent Pastors, Apostolicall men, to whom they would commit the power of government, that so they might rule over both the Presbyters and their Churches; and to these with their successors, not to the Presbyters, were the churches recommended. All which is an audacious fiction, without any warrant of Scripture, or shew of good reason. For it is confessed that Presbyters were placed at the first constitution, as the Pastors and teachers of the Churches. Now if the Apostles had done this with reference to a further and more eminent Pastor and Governour, they would have intimated somewhere this their intention: but this they doe not; yea, the contrary purpose is by them declared. For Peter so biddeih his Presbyters feed their flocks, as that he doth insinuate them subject to no other but Christ, the Arch shepheard of them all. Again, the Apostles could not make the Presbyters Pastors without power of government. There may be governours without pastorall power; but not a Pastor without power of governing. For the power of the *Pedum*, or shepheards staffe, doth intrinsically follow the Pastorall office. What likelihood is there, that those who were set as parents to beget children, should not be trusted with power of the rod wherewith children now begotten are to be nurtured and kept in awe becoming them? If it be said, every one fit for the office of a Teacher, was not fit for a Governour: I answer, he that is fit to be a Pastor teaching and governing, *in foro intimo*, is much more fit to be a Governour externally: he who is fit for the greater, is fit for the lesser. It was a greater and more Apostolicall worke, to labour conversion, and bring the churches a handfull in the planting (as some thinke) to become numberfome in people, then it is to governe them being converted. And it is absurd to thinke that those who were fit to gather a church, and bring it to fullnesse from small beginnings, should not be fit to governe it, but stand in need to have it: one sent, who might rule them and the churches they had collected. Secondly, these Presbyters were (as themselves



selves confesse) qualified with the extraordinary gifts of the holy Ghost, and chosen by speciall designation: so that to impute insufficiency unto them, is harsh, and injurious to God, as well as to man. Finally, by the twenty of the Acts, and the first Epistle of Peter, chas. 5. it is plaine, they doe in their last farewells, commit the Churches unto the Presbyters, not suggesting any thing of a further Pastor to be sent, who would supply their roomes; which yet they would not have forgotten, being a thing of so great consolation, had it been intended by them.

*Argument 2.*

Those who have the name and office of Bishops common to them, they have no superiour Pastors over them: but the Presbyters Pastors all have that name and office attributed to them. For first they are said to governe in generall. Secondly, there is nothing found belonging to the power of the keyes in *foro externo*, but the Scripture doth ascribe it to them, power of suffrage in counsell. *Acts 15.* power of excommunication, which is manifest to have beene in the churches of Corinth when it had no bishop; power of ordination, *1 Tim. 4.* If any say, that this their power was but by commission in them, and that they were subordinate to the Apostles in exercise of it, being to reteine it onely untill such time as more eminent Pastors should be given: I answer, all this is spoken *gratia*, without any foundation, and therefore no more easily vouched then rejected. The Presbyters so had this power, that they did commit it to the bishops, as we shall shew after: and therefore it must have beene in them, not by extraordinary commission, but by ordinary office. Secondly, they were subject in exercise to none but Christ and the holy Ghost, who onely had out of authority trusted them with it. If the Apostles and they did concur in doing one and the same thing, they did it as inferiour to the Apostles, and servants of a lower order, not with any subjection to them, as heads of derivation, serving Christ their onely Lord, no lesse immediately then the Apostles themselves;

*Argument 3.*

That which is found in all other orders of Ministers instituted by Christ, may be presumed likewise in the order of Pastors and Doctors: but in all other orders, there were none that had singularity of preheminance and majority of power above other: No Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist had this rule one over another. If the proposition be denied, upon supposall of a different reason, because that though parity in a few extraordinary Ministers might be admitted without disorder, yet in a multitude of ordinary Ministers, it could not but breed schisme and confusion, and therefore as the order of Priesthood was divided into  
a high

high Priest, and other secondary ones, so is it fit that the Presbyters of the new Testament should be divided, some being in the first, and some in the second ranke. To this I answer, the parity is the more dangerous, by how much the places are supereminent. Secondly, though Pastors should be equall, yet this would not bring parity into the Ministers of the Church, some whereof should bee in degree inferior to other, the governing Elders to the Pastors, and the Deacons to them. Thirdly, if every Church being an Ecclesiasticall body, should have governours every way equall, there were no feare of confusion, seeing Aristocracy, especially where God ordaineth it, is a forme of government sufficient to preserve order. But every Church might then doe what ever it would within it selfe. Not so neither; for it is subject to the censure of other Churches synodically assembled, and to the civill Magistrate, who in case of delinquency, hath directive and corrective power over it. Parity doth not so much indanger the Church by schisme, as imparity doth by tyranny subject it. As for the distinction of Priests, wee grant it; but as man could not have made that distinction, had not God ordained it in time of the old Testament, no more can we under the new. Howbeit, that distinction of Priests did bring in no such difference in order and majoriny of rule, as our Bishops now challenge.

*Argument 4.*

If some be inferior unto othersome in degree of power, it must be in regard of their power to teach, or their power to govern, or in the application of this power to their persons, or in regard of the people whom they teach and governe, or finally in regard the exercise of their power is at the direction of another. But no Pastor or Teacher dependeth on an other but Christ for any of these. Ergo. The proposition standeth on a sufficient enumeration: the assumption may be proved in the severall parts of it. The former branch is thus cleared. First, the power we have, is the same essentially with theirs; yea, every way the same. Secondly, wee have it as immediately from Christ as they. I shew them both thus: The power of order is the power which enableth us to preach and deliver the whole counsell of God, and to minister all Sacraments sealing Gods covenant. Now unless we will with the Papists, say that preaching is no necessary ~~anathema~~ to the Presbyters office, or that his power is a rudimentall limited power, as to open the creed, Lords prayer, and commandements onely, or that he hath not the full power sacramentall, there being other sacraments of ordination and confirmation which wee may not minister, all which are grosse, wee must yeeld their power of order to be the same. Yea, were these sacraments properly, they are both grounded in the power

power a Presbyter hath : Ordination in *doe this in remembrance of me*: confirmation in power to baptize. The power being the same, it is happily in one immediately, and in the other by derivation from him. Nothing lesse. All grant that Christ doth immediately give it, even as the inward grace of every Sacrament cometh principally from him. The Church, did she give this power, might make the sacrament and preaching, which one doth in order, no sacrament, no preaching. The Pope doth not (if we follow the common tenent) challenge so much as to give the power of order to any bishop or priest wha soever. If you say, the Presbyter is ordained by the bishop, that is nothing : so is the bishop by other bishops, from whom notwithstanding he receiveth not this power. We will take this as granted of all : though the truth is, all doe not maintain it from right grounds. But it will be said the Presbyter is inferior in jurisdiction, and can have none but what is derived to him from the bishop, who hath the fulnesse of it within his Diocesan Church. But this is false, and grounded on many false presumptions. As first, that Ministers of the Word are not properly and fully Pastors; for to make a Pastor, and give him no help against the Wolfe, is to furnish him forth imperfectly. Secondly, it presupposeth the power of jurisdiction to be given originally and fontally to one person of the Church, and so to others, whereas Christ hath committed it *originaliter* and *exercitative* to the representative Church, that they might Aristocratically administer it. Thirdly, this presupposeth the plenitude of regiment to be in the bishop, and from him to be derived to other : which maketh him a head of virtuall influence, that in his Church, which the Pope doth challenge in regard of all bishops. For his headship and spirituall sovereignty standeth according to *Bellarmine* in this, that the government of all *in foro externo*, is committed to him. Not to mention, how bishops, while they were bishops, gloried of their chaire and teaching, as the flower of their garland, preferring it farre before government, but when they were fallen from their spirituall felicity, and infected with secular smoke, then they recommended the labour of teaching to the Presbyters, then their jurisdiction and consistory did carry all the credite, every office in the Church being counted a dignity, as it had more or lesse jurisdiction annexed ; as those are more or lesse honourable in the Common-wealth, which have civill authority in lesse or greater measure conjoyned. The truth is, it cannot be shewed that God ever made Pastor without this jurisdiction ; for whether it do agree to men as they are Pastors, or as they are Prelats in the Church, it cannot be avoided but that the Pastor should have it, because though every *Pastor* or *Prelatus*, be not a Pastor, yet every Pastor is *Prelatus*, in order to that Church where he is the proper

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and ordinary Pastor. Yes, when censure is the most sharp spirituall medicine, it were ill with every Church, if he who is resident alway, among them as their spirituall Physician, should not have power in administering it. Thirdly, I say, no Minister hath majoriety of power in applying the power of order or jurisdiction to this or that person. In the application there is a ministry of the Church interposed: but so that Christ onely is the cause with power, not onely why Presbyters are in the Church, but why *Thomas* or *John* is chosen to and bestowed on this or that place. A Master onely doth out of power take every servant into his house: so God in his, God did choose *Aaron* sonnes with the Levites, and Christ the 70. not mediately leaving it to the arbitrement of any to set out those that should stand before him. God doth ever onely in regard of authority, apply all power Ecclesiasticall to every particular person, his sole authority doth it, though sometime as in ordinary callings, the ministry of others doth concur. The Church is in setting out, or ordaining this or that man, as the Colledge is in choosing, when she taketh the man whom the statute of her founder doth most manifestly describe, or where the Kings mandate doth strictly injoyne, it would otherwise bring an imperiall power into the Church. For though many Kings cannot hinder but that there shall be such and such officers, and places of government as are in their Kingdome, yet while they are free at their pleasure to depute this or that man to the places vacant, they have a Kingly jurisdiction in them. Briefly, God doth ever apply the power Ecclesiasticall unto the person: sometime alone by himselfe, as in the Apostles, and then he doth it *tam immediate quam suppositi*: sometime the ministry of man concurring extraordinarily, as when God extraordinarily directeth a person to goe and call one to this or that place, as he did *Samuel* to anoint *Saul*. Or else ordinarily, when God doth by his Writ and Spirit, guide men to take any to this or that place in his Church, which he doth partly by his written statutes, and partly by his Spirit: and thus he doth make the application onely *immediate virtutis*, not *suppositi*.

*Obiect.* But yet Bishops have the Churches, and the care of them wholly committed to them; though therefore Ministers have equall power to them, yet they cannot without their leave have any place within their Churches, and therefore are inferiour, in as much as the people with whom they exercise their power of order and jurisdiction, are assigned to them by the Bishop the proper Pastor of them. This is an error likewise: For God doth make no Minister to whom he doth not assigne a flocke: which he may attend. God calleth Ministers, not to a faculty of honour, which doth qualifie them with power to ministerial actions, if any give them persons among whom they

they may exercise their power received, as the Emperours did make *Chavilars Judges*, who had a power to judge causes if any would subject himselfe to them. Or as the Count Palatine hath ordinary Judges, who are *habitu tantum Judges*, having none under them, amongst whom they may exercise jurisdiction. Or as the University giveth the degree of a Doctor in Physicke, without any patients among whom he may practise. But Gods Ministry is the calling of a man to an actuall administration, *God teach*: and the power of order is nothing by the way, but a relative respect, founded in this, that I am called to such an actuall administration. Now there cannot be an act commanded, without the subject about which it is occupied: otherwise, God should give them a faculty of feeding, and leave them depending on others for sheep to feed; God should make them but remote potentiall Ministers, and the Bishop actuall. Thirdly, the Holy Ghost is said to have set the Presbyters over their flocks. A man taking a steward, or other servant into his house, doth give him a power of doing something to his family; and never thinketh of taking servants, further then the necessity of his household doth require: so is it with God in his Church, which is his house: for the exegency of his people so require, he doth not call any to the function of Ministry. Againe, this is enough to ground the authority which Antichrist assumeth: For some make his sovereignty to stand onely in this, not that he giveth order or power of jurisdiction, but that he giveth to all Pastors and Bishops the moiety of sheepe, on whom this their power is exercised, Christ having given him the care of all his sheepe, *feed my sheepe*: so *Pasquer*. Thus if a Bishop challenge all the sheepe in a Diocesan flocke to be his, and that he hath power to assigne the severall flocks under him, he doth usurpe an Antichristian authority. Finally, if the Churches be the Bishops through the Diocese, Ministers then are under them in their Churches, but as a Curate is, whom a Parson giveth leave to helpe with in his Church. Yea, they should loose their right in their Churches, when the Bishop dieth, as a Curate doth when the Parson of this or that Church, whom he assisted, is once departed. To conclude, they are not dependant (one Minister I meane on another) in the exercise and use of their calling. A servant that hath any place, doth know from his Master what belongeth to it. The Priests and Levites had set downe what belonged to their places, as well as the high Priest what belonged to his. Againe, God hath described the Presbyters office, as amply as any other. A Legate dependeth on none for instructions, but on him that sendeth him; now every Minister is an Embassadour of Christ. By their reason a Minister should be accountant to man for what he did in his Ministry, if his exercising of it did depend on man. Then also

should ministers mediately onely serve God, in as much as they have done this or that, to which the bishop did direct them. Moreover, should the bishop bid him not preach at all, preach rarely, teach onely such and such things, or come and live from his charge, he should not sinne in obeying him. But man cannot limit that power of ministry which he cannot give. It is not with Gods servants in his Church, as with civill servants in the Common-wealth: for here some servants are above others whom they command as they will such as are called *servi ordinarii* or *prepositi*, some are under others to do this or that commanded by them, commonly called *servi vicarii*: but in the Church all servants serve their Maker Christ, neither having any that they can command, nor being under any but Christ so as to be commanded by them. But it may be objected, that God hath ordained some to be helpes and assistants to other some. It is said that God hath ordained powers, helps, governours, 1 Cor. 12. 8. and were not the Evangelists assistants to the Apostles, doing that to which they directed them? To this I answer, that the helpe God hath put in his Church respect the calling of Deacons, and such as ministered to the infirme ones: As for Evangelists, they were companions and assistants to the Apostles, but it was in order to the work of God in their hands, which they were to serve, not in order to their persons, as if they had been subjected to them in any servile inferiority. Observe how Paul speaketh of them, 2 Cor. 8. 23. *Titus* was his companion and helper towards them, *Phile* 2. 25. *Epaphroditus* was his brother and helper in his worke, and fellow souldier, 1 Thess. 3. 2. *Mark* was his coadjutor in the Gospell of Christ, 2 Tim. 4. 11. *Mark* was helpfull in the Ministry. The truth is, this was *servitus non personatus sed realis*, the Evangelists did serve the worke the Apostles had in hand, with out being servants to their persons. When bricklayers worke, some mixe lime, and make mortar, some beare up tile and mortar, some sit on the house and there lay that which is bought them. These are all fellow servants, yet the one doth serve to set forward the worke of the other. But were they not left to the direction of the Apostles, wholly in exercise of their calling? I answer, as Christ gave some to be Evangelists, so he made them know from himselfe what belonged to their office, and what was the administration to which he called them. He did not therefore wholly leave them to the direction of any. There is a double direction, one *potestarius*, which is made from majority of rule *ex auctoritate*, the other *socialis*, such as one servant, having fit knowledge of his masters will, and ripe experience, may give to another. The latter kinde of direction it was, not the former, by which the Evangelists were directed. Which though commonly Paul used, yet not so universally but that they went sometime of their owne accords  
hither



hither and thither, as may be gathered, 2 Cor. 8. 16, 17. and 2. 7. 14, 15.

*The first Argument.*

That which the Apostles had not over Prophets, Evangelists, Presbyters, nor Deacons themselves that power which the Church hath not over any member, the bishop hath not over other ministers. But they had not over any inferior officers any majority of directive or corrective power: neither hath the Church it selfe any such power. Ergo. The assumption is proved: for majority of directive and corrective power is a Lord-like and Regall power: now there is no such power in the Church, or in the Apostles, or in any but onely in that one Lord: all other power being but a declarative and executive ministry to signifie and execute what Christ out of majority of power would have signified and put in execution.

*The sixth Argument.*

That which doth breed an Antichristian usurpation, never was of Christs institution. But bishops majority of power in regard of order and jurisdiction, doth so: Ergo. That which maketh the bishop a head as doth *in fluens* derive the power of externall government to other his assistants that doth breed an Antichristian usurpation. But to claime the whole power of jurisdiction through a Diocesan Church, doth so: for he must needs substitute helpers to him, because it is more then by himselfe he can performe. But this is it which maketh Antichrist, he doth take upon him to be head of the whole Church, from whom is derived this power of externall government: and the bishop doth no lesse in his Diocesan Church, that which he usurpeth differing in degree onely and extension, not in kind from that which the Pope arrogateth. If it be said that his power is Antichristian, because it is universall: it is no so. For were the power lawfull, the universality could not make it Antichristian. The Apostles had an universality of authority, yet no Antichrists, because it did not make them heads, deriving to others from their fullness: it was not prince-like majority of power, but steward-like and ministeriall onely. If one doe usurpe a kingly power in Kent onely, he were an Anti king to our Sovereigne, no lesse for kind, then if he proclaimed himselfe King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. There is but one Lord, and many ministrations. Neither doth this make the Popes power papall, because it is not under a Synod: for the best of the Papists hold, and it is the most common tenent, that he is subject to an Oecumenicall Councell. Secondly, though he be subject, yet that doth not hinder but he may usurpe a kingly government: for a King may have a kingly power, and yet confesse himselfe accountable to all his people collectively conside-



red: neither doth this make the Bishops lawfull in one Church, because one may manage it, and the Popes unlawfull, because none is sufficient to sway such a power through the whole Church: for then all the power the Pope doth challenge, is not *per se*, but *per accident*, unlawfull, by reason of mans insufficiency, who cannot wield so great a matter.

*The seventh Argument.*

Those Ministers who are made by one patent in the same words, have equall authority: but all Ministers of the Word are made by the same patent, in the same words, *Receive the holy Ghost, whose sins ye forgive, &c.* Ergo. The proposition is denied: because the sense of the words is to be understood according as the persons give leave to whom they are spoken. These words spoken to Apostles, they gave them larger power then to a Bishop: and so spoken to a Presbyter they give him lesse power then to a Bishop. *Ans.* If the Scripture had distinguished of Presbyters Pastoral feeding with the Word, and made them divers degrees, as it hath made Apostles and Evangelists, then we would grant the exception: but the Scripture doth not know this division of Pastors and Doctors into chiefe and assistant: but speaketh of them as of Apostles and Evangelists, who were among themselves equall in degree. Wherefore as no Apostle received by these words greater power then another: so no Pastor or Teacher, but must receive the same power, as who are among themselves of the same degree. Secondly, were they different degrees, yet it should give the Presbyter for kind, though not of so ample extent as the Bishop hath, as it giveth the Bishop the same power for kinde, which the Apostles had, though not so universall, but contracted to particular Churches.

Now to come unto some conclusions or assertions which may lend light unto the deciding of this question.

*Concluj. 1.* Let this be the first. No Minister of the Word hath any power but ministeriall in the Church. Power is naturall or morall. Morall is Civill or Ecclesiasticall. Civill is either Lord-like and ruling, or ministeriall and servile. So Ecclesiasticall, taken largely for all power subjectively in, or objectively about the Church, is either Lord-like and Regall, such as is in Christ, or it is ministeriall and servile, such as is in the Church and the principall members of it. The power therefore of the Apostles themselves and Evangelists, is called *δουλοφία*, Act. 20. 1 Tim. 4. yea such a service, as doth make the ministers having it, so servants, that they are no way Lords. *Many ministers, one Lord: we preach Christ, our selves your servants for Jesus sake.* S. Paul maketh his power steward-like, not regall. Now as that is regall power which doth any thing from the authority one hath in himselfe, or from ones pleasure: so that is ministeriall power which

which doth nothing but eying the will and power of him that is principall: a power which significeth or executeth this or that *ex more alicuius obsequio*.

*Conclus. 2.* This ministeriall power is no supernaturall vertue or quality inherent in the soule: but a relative respect founded on this, that I am called by God to this or that actuall administration in his Church. For it is not a power simply, whereby a man is made able to doe some supernatural act, which he could not before in any mannes performe: but it is respectively said a power, in as much as it doth enable him to doe those acts in the Church of God lawfully, and *ex officio*, with which before he might not intermeddle. The power of a Deacon, Pastor, Evangelist, Apostle, belong to one predicament in regard of that which is the genus or common nature of them: the power of the Church cannot be other. Naturall and civill power doth with vertue and efficacy reach those effects and ends to which they are designed: because they are proportioned to them, and exceed not their activity: but Ecclesiasticall power cannot thus concur to the end and effects for which it is ordained: because they are such as the omnipotency of God onely can produce, as the converting or creating grace in the heart of a sinner, to which no supernaturall vertue in man can by any reall, though instrumentary efficacy, conduce any thing.

*Conclus. 3.* God hath not given ministeriall power to any, which himselve is not personally to discharge, nor in further plenitude then that by himselve it may be performed. The reason is, because God cannot give one the charge of doing more then a mans proper industry can achieve, but he must withall put it in a mans power to take others, and to impart with them power of teaching and governing, so farre as may supply that defect which is in his strength to performe it alone. He that will have the end, will have that without which the end cannot be attained. If God would have any one an universall pastor to all the Churches of the world, he must needs allow him power to substitute Pastors here and there, deriving unto them power both to teach and governe, so far as may supply his absence in the Pastorall cure. If I will have one keepe my flockes which goe in twenty sheepe-gates, if I commit them to one, I must needs together give him leave to assume unto himselve such as may be under shepheards to him. Thus if God give a Bishop the plenitude of Pastorall care and government over all the Parishes of a Diocese, he must needs together allow him this power, of being a head of internall influence, even a head virtually communicating with others part of pastorall power, whether teaching or government. Thus should none but Bishops be *ex officio* servants in Pastorall cure to God: all others should be  
influence.

immediately and formally servants to the bishop, and doe every thing in the name of the bishop, being immediately onely and in a remote sense the servants of God: as in the former comparison of one servant receiving from his master the care of all the flockes, he is the masters servant to whom the master committeth the trust, from whom he onely looketh to see it performed: but those whom this shephard taketh to himselfe for his aid, they come under his dominion, and are servants to him. If it be said, that God doth not thus make the bishop Pastor, but that he wil likewise that there be parish Pastors under him, and helps of government. To this I answer, If God will have them, then either after his owne designement, or else leaving it to the bishops arbitrement: if he leave it to the bishops arbitrement, then the objection before is in force, God will looke for the cure from him onely, he shal take according to his judgment, such as may helpe him. If God will have them after his owne designement, then he giveth the bishop no more Pastorall power then he can discharge himselfe, others having their right in all the bishop cannot execute, as well as the bishop, and as immediately from Christ. Some write, as if the Apostles had the plenitude of all Pastorall power, that from them it might be derived to the Church, it being scene through nature, that inferiour things receive influence from the superiour. But they misconceive the matter; they had onely a power to serve the Church with the personall service of their Apostleship. The Pastorall power of Evangelists, or of ordinary Pastours and teachers, they never had. For as Christ gave the one order, so the two other also, for the gathering of the Saints, and exaldfying of the body of Christ: and no person in any ranke had any power to do this or that in the Church further then himselfe might performe in person. The steward in a house hath full power of a steward, but not the power of all other officers, as Clark of the kitchen, Butler, Chamberlaine, &c. So in these divers orders of servants in Gods house, his Church. If the Apostles had had the fulnesse of Pastorall care, they should then have ordained others Evangelists, and Pastors not onely by ministeriall mediation of their persons calling them, but also by mediation of vertue.

*Conclus. 4.* One ministeriall power may be in degree of dignity above another. For the power of one may be about more noble acts then the power of another, or in the same kinde, the power of one may be more extended, and the power of another more contracted. Thus the Deacons had for the object of their power and care, not so excellent a thing as that of Pastors, Evangelists, and Apostles. Thus the power of ordinary Pastors was not so universall as the Apostles, even as in the orders of servants domestically, some are imployed about lesser, some about greater and more honorable subjects.

*Concl.*

*Concl. 5.* No order of Ministers or servants can have majority of directive and corrective power over those who are in inferior order of Ministry and service. The reason is, because this exceedeth the bounds of ministeriall power, and is a participation of that despotical power which is appropriate to the master of the family.

*Concl. 6.* Servants in one degree may have power to signify their masters direction, and to execute ministerially what their master out of his corrective power inflicteth on their fellow servants in other degrees: Thus Pastors signify Gods will to governing Presbyters and Deacons, what he would have them to doe in their places. Thus the Apostles might informe all orders under them.

*Concl. 7.* This power ministeriall tending to execute the pleasure of Christs corrective power, was committed to some in extraordinary degrees, personally and singularly, and might be so in some cases exercised by them. I meane singularity without concurrence of any others. This without doubt was in the Apostles and Evangelists: and it was needfull it should be so: first, because it might be behovefull there to excommunicate whereas yet Churches were not risen to their perfect frame: secondly, because there might be some persons not settled as fixed dwellers in any Church, whom yet to be sett forth was very behovefull. Again, some Evangelists might incurre censure, as Demas, in such sort as no ordinary Churches power could reach to them.

*Concl. 8.* That ordinarily this power is not given to any one singularly by himselfe to exercise the same, but with the company of others constituting a representative Church: which is the point next to be considered. Yea where Churches were constituted, the Apostles did not offer to exercise their power, without the ministeriall concurrence of the Churches, as in the story of the Corinthians is manifest.

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## THE THIRD QVESTION

Whether Christ did immediatly commit ordinary power Ecclesiasticall, and the exercise of it, to any singular person, or to united multitude of Presbyters.

**T**Hough this question is so coincident with the former, that the grounds hath in a sort been discussed, yet for some new considerations which may be super-added, we will briefly handle it in the Method promised.

First, it is argued for the affirmative.

*Argument 1.* That which is committed to the Church, is committed to the principal member of the Church. But exercise of jurisdiction was committed to the Church, Mat. 18. 17. Ergo. Either to the whole Church, or to a Church in the Church, or to some one eminent member in the Church. But it was not committed to be exercised by the whole Church, or to any Church in the Church. Ergo, to one who is in effect as the church, having all the authority of it. Secondly, if one person may be representatively a Church, when jurisdiction is promised, then one person may be representatively a Church when jurisdiction and power of exercising is committed. But one singular person, *petrus* signified the Church, when the promise of jurisdiction is made. Ergo. *Cyprian* to *Jubaia* saith, that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church so in the bishop, that they cannot be severed. Finally, as the kingdome of England may be put for the King in whom is all the power of the Kingdome: So the Church for the chiefe governour in whom is the power of it.

*The second Argument.*

That which the Churches had not given them when they were constituted, that was not promised to them as their immediat right. But they had not coercive power given them when they were constituted. Ergo, Christ did not commit it to the Churches or Presbyters.



byters. For then the Apostles would not have withheld it from these. But they did. For the Apostles kept it with themselves. As in the incestuous Corinthian is manifest, whom *Paul* by his judgement was faine to excommunicate. And the Thessalonians are bid to note the inordinate, and signifie them, as not having power within themselves to censure them. And so *Paul* alone excommunicated *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*.

*The third Argument.*

That which *Paul* committed to some prime men in Churches, and their successors, that was not committed to Presbyteries, but singular persons. But in power of ordination and jurisdiction, he did so. For to *Timothy* in Ephesus, and to *Titus* in Crete, he commended the power and exercise of it. Ergo.

*The fourth Argument.*

That order which was most fit for exercising power of jurisdiction, that Christ did ordaine. But the order of one chiefe governour is fitter for execution, then the order of a united multitude. Ergo.

*The fifth Argument.*

If all authority and power of exercise be in the Church originally, then the Pastors derive their power from the Church. But this is not true. Ergo, it was not committed to the Church. That authority which the Church never had, shee cannot convey. But the Pastorall authority of word and Sacraments never was in the Church essentially taken. Ergo, it cannot be derived from her. Again Pastours should discharge their office in the name of the Church, did they receive their power from the Church.

*The sixth Argument.*

If the power of jurisdiction and execution be committed from Christ to the Church, then hath the Church supreme power. Then may a particular Church depose her bishop, the sheepe censure the shepheard, children their fathers, which is absurd.

On the other side it is argued,

*Argument.* That which Christ doth presuppose as being in many, and to be exercised by many, that never was committed by Christ to one, and the execution of any one. But *Mat. 18*. Christ doth manifestly suppose the power of jurisdiction to be in many and that exercit<sup>ur</sup>, so as by them being many, it is to be exercised. Ergo. Now this is plaine in the place. Where first Marke, hat Christ doth presuppose the authority of every particular Church taken in distinctly. For it is such a Church as any brother offended may presently complaine to. Therefore no universall, or provincially, or Diocesan Church gathered in a Councell. Secondly, it is not any particular Church that he doth send all Christians to, for then all Christians in the world should come to one particular Church, were

is possible. He doth therefore presuppose indistinctly the very particular Church where the brother offending and offended are members. And if they be not both of one church, the plaintife must make his denuntiation to the Church where the defendant is, *quis forum sequitur reum*. Thirdly, as Christ doth speake it of any ordinary particular Church indistinctly, so he doth by the name of Church not understand essentially all the congregation. For then Christ should give not some, but all the members of the Church to be governors of it. Fourthly, Christ speaketh it of such a Church to whom wee may ordinarily and orderly complaine: now this we cannot to the whole multitude. Fifthly, this Church he speaketh of; he doth presuppose it as the ordinary executioner of all discipline and censure. But the multitude have not this execution ordinary, as all but *Atheists*, and such Democritall spirits doe affirme. And the reason ratifying the sentence of the Church, doth shew that often the number of it is but small: *For where two or three are gathered together in my name*. Whereas the Church or congregations essentially taken for teachers and people, are incomparably great. Neither doth Christ meane by Church the chiefe Pastor, who is virtually as the whole Church. For first, the word Church doth ever signifie a company, and never is found to note out one person. Secondly, the Bishop may be the person offending or offended, and the Church to which he must bring the matter, must be other then himselfe. Thirdly, the gradation doth shew it. First, by thy selfe, *Then shew a witness or two. Then to the Church*, as the sinne increaseth, the number of those by whom it is to be rebuked and censured, increaseth also. If one say, though the Church signifie one governour, yet the gradation holdeth, for to tell it to the governour in open Court, is more then to tell it to twenty. Wee grant that this is true, and wee the word Church taken here to note some eminent governour, it might be brought in as a further degree, though one onely were enforced. But how can *Peter* be complainant, if *Peter* the Præsul onely be the judge to whom the thing must be denounced. Fourthly, the church in the Corinthians which *Paul* stirreth up to censure the incestuous person, was not any one but many. Their rebuke upon which it is like he repented, was a rebuke of many, 1 Cor. 2.6. Fifthly, if the church had been one, he would not have subjoynd: *for what ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven*. Sixtly, if the church did not note an assembly, how could he assure them from hence, *that God would do what they agreed on, because he was with the least assemblies gathered in his name*. Unless the Church meant were an assembly, this argument could not be so correspondent. Where two or two or three are assembled in Gods name, God is in the midst of them to doe that they agree on. But where the Church is binding or loosing, there  
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are some assembled in the name of Christ. Ergo. Lastly, the church in the old Testament never noteth the high Priest virtually, but an assembly of Priests sitting together, as Judges in the causes of God. Wherefore as Christ doth indistinctly presuppose every particular Church: So he doth here onely presuppose the joint authority, and joint execution of a representative Church, a Presbytery of Elders, who were Pastors and Governours.

*Argum. 4.* Wee argue from the practice of the Churches. That power which is not in one, nor to bee exercised by one; but in many, and to be exercised by many in the Church of the Corinthians, that power with the exercise of it, was committed by Christ to many, not to one. But the power of Ecclesiasticall censure was in many, and to be performed by many assembled. Ergo. The proposition is plaine. For *Paul* would not have called for, nor have liked any constitution or exercise of power Ecclesiasticall, other then Christ had ordained. The assertion is denied by some: but it is a plaine truth by many invincible arguments. For first, *Paul* doth rebuke them that they had not set themselves to cast them forth. Now (as *Ambrose* saith on the place. *Si autem quis potestatem non habet, quomodo reum abjicere, aut probare non valet; immo est.* Secondly, *Paul* doth wish them assembled together, with himselfe in the name and vertue of Christ, that they might deliver him up to Sathan. For hee doth not call on them to restrain him as already excommunicated, but to purge him out as an infectious leaven yet amongst them. Thirdly, *Paul* doth tell them that they had power to judge those within, those who were called brethren, and lived otherwise. Fourthly, *Paul* doth tell them that they did a rebuke or malediction many, writing to them that they would not proceed, 1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 2. 6. Lastly, *Paul* doth attribute power to them to forgive him, and to receive him to the peace of the church. Which would not have been in them; had they not had the power to excommunicate. Such as have no power to binde, have no power to loose. So it might be proved by the Church of the Thessalonians, 2<sup>nd</sup> Thess. 3. 14. *If any man walk unordinarily, note him, that others may restrain him.* Noting, being not a signification by letter, which doth wreek the word against all copies, and the current of all Greek interpreters: but judiciously to note him, that all may avoid him, that is, excommunicate him. Finally, the churches of Asia, as it is plaine, had power of government within themselves.

*Argum. 5.* That power which the Apostles did not exercise in the churches, nor Evangelists, but with concurrence of the churches and Presbyteries, that power is much lesse to be exercised by any ordinary Pastour, but by many. But they did not ordaine, nor lay on hands alone, they did not determine questions by the power of the keyes alone, but with concurrence of the Presbyters of the church. Ergo, much lesse may any ordinary Minister

Minister doe it alone. *Timothy* received grace by the *Xpistoria* of the Presbytery. For that Persons must be understood here as apparant by the like place ; when it is said, by the laying on of my hands, *quod* noteth a person, and so here a Presbytery. Secondly, to take *xpistoria* to signifie the order of Priesthood, is against all Lexicons, and the nature of the Greeke termination. Thirdly, *Timothy* never received that order of a Presbyter, as before we have proved. Fourthly, it cannot signifie as Greeke Expositors take it, a company of bishops. For neither was that Canon of 3. bishops and the Metropolitan, or all the bishops in a Province, in the Apostles time, neither were these who are now called bishops, then called Presbyters, as they say, but Apostles, men that had received Apostolick grace, Angels, &c. Finally, it is very absurd to think of companies of other Presbyters in Churches then *Paul* planted ; but he placed Presbyteries of such Presbyters as are now distinguished from bishops, which is the grant of our adversaries. Not to mention how *Armadanus* doth censure the other as an interpretation from ones privar sence, besides testimonie of Scripture.

Thus the Apostles did not offer alone to determine the question Act. 15. but had the joynt suffrages of the Presbytery with them. Not because they could not alone have infallibly answered, but because it was a thing to be determined by many; all who had received power of the keyes, doing it *ex officio*, and others from discretion and duty of confession the truth. Yea the bishops called *Primi Presbyteri*, had no ordination at the first which the Presbytery did not give them. Whence have bishops of other Churches power to minister the sacrament to the bishop of this Church ? But *Timothy* and *Titus* are said to have ordained Ministers. As Consuls and Dictators are said to have created Consuls, because they called Senates, propounded and together with others did it. No otherwise doe Jesuits themselves understand it. *Salmeron* on the first of *Titus*, &c. And it is manifest by Ecclesiasticall writings of all sorts, that Presbyters had right of suffrage, not onely in their owne Presbyteries, but in Provinciall Synods, and therefore in Oecumenicall Synods, which doth arise from a combination of the other, to which their mindes went in the instruction of bishops received from their Churches. And *Athanafius* yet a Deacon, is read to have bene at the Counsell of Nice, and to have had right of suffrage in it. Finally, the Presbyteries did a long time execute jointly all actions of Church government, as is before declared. Other arguments we shall touch in answer of these which have bene objected. Now to come to the conclusions, let this be first.

*Conclus.* 1. Extraordinary power was committed to some singular

lar persons, so that in some case they might singularly exercise it without concurrence of other. This I speake in regard of Apostles and Evangelists, whose power in many things could not have concurrence of particular Churches, which in the former question is sufficiently declared.

*Conclus. 2.* That ordinary power, and the execution thereof was not committed to any singular governors, whereof there was to be one onely in each Church. This is against the Jesuits, who make account (the most of them) that as all civill power of government is given to Kings to bee executed by them within their commonwealth, so Ecclesiasticall power (say they) is given to the Pope and to bishops in their particular Churches to be executed by them, and derived from thence to the whole Church.

*Conclus. 3.* Ordinary power with the execution thereof, was not given to the community of the church, or to the whole multitude of the faithfull, so that they were the immediate and first receptacle, receiving it from Christ, and virtually deriving it to others. This I set downe against the Divines of Constance, our prime Divines, as *Luther* and *Melancthon*, and the Sorbonists, who doe maintaine it at this day. Yea, this seemeth to have beene *Tertullians* error; for in his booke: *de pudicitia*, he maketh Christ to have left all Christians with like power, but the church for her honor, did dispose it as we see. The proposition of a polittick body, and naturall deceived them, while they will apply all that is in these to Christs mysticall body, not remembering that *analogon* is not in *omnisimile*, for then should it bee the same with the *analogatum*. True it is, all civill power is in the body politticke, the collections of subjects, then in a King from them: And all the power of hearing, seeing, they are in the whole man, which doth produce them effectually, though formally and instrumentally they are in the eare and eye. But the reason of this is, because these powers are naturall, and what ever is naturall, doth first agree to the community or *totum*, and afterward to a particular person and part, but all that is in this body, cannot hold in Christs mysticall body. In a polittick body power is first in the community, in the King from them, but all Ecclesiasticall power is first in our King before any in the church from him. But to whom should he first commit this power, but to his Queene. *Ans.* Considering this power is not any Lordly power, but a power of doing service to the church for Christ his sake. Therefore it is fit it should be committed to some persons, and not to the whole community which are the Queene of Christ. For it is not fit a King should commit power to his Queene to serve herselfe properly: but to have persons who in regard of his relation should stand distinguished from her. Secondly, in naturall bodies, the power of seeing is first immediately



immediately in the man, from the man in the eye and particular members: In the myſticall body, the faith of a beleever is not firſt immediately in all, then in the beleever, but firſt of all and immediately in the perſonall beleever, for whoſe good it ſerveth more properly than for the whole, every man being to live by his owne faith. The power of Prieſthood was not firſt in the Church of Iſrael, ſo derived to the Prieſt: but immediately from Chriſt ſeared in *Aaron* and his ſonnes. *Object.* Yea they were given the church *in ſuita ejusdem tanquam ſibi & totius.* *Anſw.* I but this is not enough, that power may be ſaid to be immediately received by the church as the firſt receptracle of it, and from it derived to others, as the power of ſeeing is not onely given *in ſuita hominis* as the end of it, and the *terminum* to whom it agreeth, but is *in homine* as the firſt ſubject from whom it commeth to the eye. But the power even of ordinary Miniſters is not in the church. For as all are ſaid not to have bene Apoſtles, ſo not to have bene Doctours. But if the power of ordinary teaching had been given to every beleever, all ſhould have bene made Doctours, though not to continue ſo in exerciſing the power. Secondly, were the power in the church, the church ſhould not onely call them, but make them out of vertue and power received into her ſelfe: then ſhould the church have a true Lordlike power in regard of her Miniſters. Beſides, there are many in the community of Chriſtians uncapable of this power regularly, as women and children. This concluſion in my judgement *Valeria, Soto* & others deny with greater ſtrength of reaſon then the contrary is maintained.

*Concluſ. 4.* Fourthly, ordinary power of miniſteriall government is committed with the execution of it, to the Senat or Presbytery of the church. If any faile in any office, the church hath not power of ſupplying that, but a miniſtery of calling one whom Chriſt hath deſcribed, that from Chriſt he may have power of office given him in the place vacant.

*Concluſ. 5.* Laſtly, though the community have not power given her, yet ſuch eſtate by Chriſt her husband is put on her, that all power is to bee executed in ſuch manner, as ſtandeth with reſpect to her excellency. Hence it is, that the governours are in many things of greater moment to take the conſent of the people with them, Not that they have joynt power of the keyes with them, but becauſe they ſuſtaine the perſon of the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and therefore cannot bee otherwiſe dealt with, without open diſhonour in ſuch things, which beſeem in common to the whole congregation.

Now to anſwer the arguments firſt propounded. The Propoſition of the firſt Syllogiſme is denied. That what was committed to the Church was committed to ſome principall member. And we deny the ſecond part of the next Syllogiſme, proving this part denied,



denied. For the power and execution was committed to a Church in a Church. Which is so farre from absurdity, that he is absurd who doth not see it in Civill and Sacred. Doe we not see in Parliament a representative Common-wealth within our Common-wealth, having the greatest authority? Not to mention that a Church within a Church should not be strange to them who imagine many Parishionall churches within one Diocesan church. To the proofes which prevent as it were an objection, shewing that the church, *Mat. 18. 17.* may be put for one chiefe Governour.

The proposition is denied. If that *Peter* one Governour, may be in type and figure the Church to whom the Jurisdiction is promised, then the Church receiving and executing it may be one. A most false Proposition whose contrary is true. The reason is, because the church typified by *Peter* is properly and really a church, not figuratively and improperly: for then *Peter* should have beene a figure or type, of a type or figurative church. The figure therefore and type being of the church which is properly taken, and the church properly and really taken, being a company assembled, hence it is that (*Matth. 18. 17.*) the church cannot signifie one; for one is but figuratively and improperly a church. There is not the same reason of the figure and the thing that is figured. Nay hence an Argument may be retorted, proving that by that church whereof *Peter* was a figure, is not meant one chiefe Governour. *Peter* as one man or Governour was properly and really a. virtuell church and chiefe Governour. But *Peter* as one man and Governour was in figure onely the church. *Matth. 18.* Ergo, that church *Matth. 18.* is not a virtuell church, noting forth one chiefe Governour onely. As for *Cyprians* speech, it doth nothing but shew the conjunction of Pastour and people by mutuall love, which is so streight that the one cannot be schismatically left out, but the other is forsaken also. Otherwise I thinke it cannot be shewed to the time of *Innocent* the third, that the Bishop was counted the church; or this dream of a virtuell church once imagined. The Clerkes of the church of *Placentia* did in their oath of canonical obedience swear thus: *That they would obey the Church of Placentia, and the Lord their Bishop.* Where the Chapter doth carry the name of the church from the Bishop. Yea, even in those times proposed, or set before him, when the Pope was lifted up above generall councils, then it is like was the first nativity of these virtuell churches. As for a Kingdome I doubt not, but it may be put for a King figuratively; but the church typified by *Peter*, must needs be a church properly. And it will as easily be proved that any one Governour was set up in a church proportionable to a King in a Common-wealth, in whom is all civill power whereby the whole Kingdome is administered.

N

To



To the second Argument from the Apostles fact in the Church of Corinth, who judicially (absent) sentenced his excommunication, *I have decreed or judged*, leaving nothing to the Church, but out of their obedience to decline him, as in the 2. Epist. 2. he saith, *For this cause I have written to you, that I may prove whether you will in all things be obedient.* What Arguments are these? He that judgeth one to be excommunicated, hee leaveth no place for the Presbyters and Church of Corinth judicially to excommunicate. Thus I might reason, *Act. 15. 17.* from *James*, ἐξουσία. He who doth judicially sentence a thing hee leaveth no place to other Apostles and Presbyters to give sentence. The truth is, the Apostle might have judged him to be excommunicated; and an Evangelist, if present, might have judged him also to be excommunicated, and yet place left for the Churches judgement also. These are subordinate one to the other. Here it may be objected, that if place be left for the Churches judgement after the Apostles sentence; then the Church is free not to excommunicate where the Apostles have, and the same man should be excommunicated and not excommunicated.

*Ans.* Suppose the Apostles could excommunicate *Clave tyrants*, Without cause, it is true. But the Apostles sentence being just, shee is not free, in as much as shee cannot lawfully but doe that which lyeth on her; when now it is especially shewed her, and by example shee is provoked. Yea, where she should see just cause of excommunicating she is not (though none call on her) free not to excommunicate. Nevertheless, though she is not free, so as she can lawfully not excommunicate, yet she is free, speaking of freedom absolutely and simply, and if she should not excommunicate him, hee should remaine not excommunicable but excommunicate, by chiefe judgement, yet it should not be executed, by the sinister favour of a particular Church. As, say *Sauls* sentence had beene just, and the peoples favour had beene unjust, *Jonathan* had beene under condemnation, but execution had beene prevented by the peoples headstrong affection towards him. *Ob.* So they who obeyed *Paul* they did not judicially excommunicate. *Ans.* As though one may not exercise power of government by manner of obedience to the exhortation of a superior. Touching the place in the *Thessalonians*, those that read, *Note him by an Epistle*, doe goe against the consent of all Greeke Interpreters. And the context doth shew, that it is a judiciary noting one, such as caused him to be avoided by others, and tended to breed shame in him. As for *Pauls* excommunicating *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*, It will not follow. That which he did alone an ordinary Pastor may doe alone. Secondly, it is not like he did it alone: but as he call our the *Corinthian*, though the whole proceeding be not noted. Though *Paul* saith, *I delivered them*

*them.* So he saith, grace was given *Timothy* by imposition of his hands, *1 Tim. 1.6.* when yet the Presbytery joyned, *1 Tim. 4.14* Thirdly, it may be they were no fixed members in any constituted Church.

The third argument of *Timothy* and *Titus* hath beene sufficiently discussed.

To the fourth, *That one is fitter for execution than many.* To which we may adde, that though the Bishops be but as Consuls in a Senat, or Vice-chancellors in a University, having when they sit with others, no more power then the rest. Yet these have execution of many things committed to them. The assertion. viz. *That many are lesse fit for execution,* we deny. That order is fittest which God instituted. But he doth commit the keyes to the Church, to many, that they might exercise the authority of them; when that mean is most fit, which God will most blesse, and his blessing doth follow his owne order, this is the fittest. Secondly, in the Apostles times, and in the times after, almost foure hundred yeeres expired, Presbyters did continue with Bishops in governing and executing what ever was decreed. Thirdly, this deprivation from the first order, one to execute for a Diocesan, one for a Provincially, the decrees of a Diocesan and Provincially, drew on a necessity of one to execute the decrees of the Oecumenicall Church or Pope. Fourthly, Let them shew where God divided the power of making lawes for government of any Church from the power to execute them. Regularly they who have the greater committed, have the lesser also. Fifthly, we see even in civill governments many parts by joynt Councell and action are as happily governed as others are by a singular governour. Truly, that the African Fathers write to *Celestine* is true: *It is unlikely that God will be present with one, inspiring him with his spirit, and not be present with many who are in his name, and with his warrant assembled.* As for those comparisons they hold not in all: they hold in that which the Consull doth in calling the assembly, propounding things, &c. Yet the Consuls never took the power to censure their fellowes without the concurrence of their fellow Senators, nor to withdraw themselves from being subject to the censure of the rest of the Senate.

To the fifth argument, to the proposition by distinction: if they have all power both of ministeriall application, and instituting others out of vertue and authority, then Pastours derive. But this is denied. She hath no power but of Ministry, and no plenitude but so farre as they in their owne persons can discharge. It presupposeth therefore we affirme in our question what we doe not. But to let the proposition passe, because of some derivation, it is true. If she have but all power of Ministeriall application, then Bishops

derive from her. But they doe not. We say they doe. And where as it is objected, that which the Church never had she cannot convey it. I answer, that which the Church never had, she cannot virtually convey it. but she may as ministering to him who hath the power and vertue of deriving it. Nothing can give that which it hath not, either formally or virtually, unlesse it give it as an instrument to one who hath it. A man not having a penny of his owne, may give an hundred pounds if the King make him his Almoner. A Seward may give all offices in his masters house, as ministerially executing his masters pleasure. Thus the Church deriveth, as taking the person whom Christ describeth, and out of power will have placed in this or that office in his Church. This answereth to the last suggestion. For if the Church did virtually, and out of power make an officer, it is true, as we see with those whom the King maketh in the common-wealth. But if she doe it in Steward-like manner, ministering to the sole Lord and master of his house, then is not he so taken in to doe in his name, but in his masters name, As a Butler taken in by a servant, doth execute his office not in master Stewards name, but in his masters, who onely out of power did confer it on him.

The last objection I answer. That the particular Church may depose their Bishop. What member soever in the Church is the offending person, may be complained of to the Church. The Church of Philippi, if it had power to see that *Archippus* doe his dutie, then it had power to reprove and censure him not doing it. If the Church have power by election to choose one their Bishop, and so power of instituting him, then of destituting also. *Instituit & destituit eisdem est potestas*. But he is given the onely judge in Christs room, and though they elect him, yet as you have said, and truly, they have not the power of that authority in them to which he is elected. No more then the Electors of the Emperour have in them power of the Imperiall dignity. *Answer*. We say therefore, that as the Church hath onely ministeriall power of application, that is, as they cannot out of power call a Pastour, but onely call one whom Christ pointeth out, and to whom Christ out of power giveth the place of Pastour. So she cannot censure or depose, but onely ministerially executing the censure of Christ, who will have such a one turned out, or otherwise censured. But the Bishop never was sole judge, though *war'gē* he may be said so. Christ instituted a Presbytery, in which all had equall power of judgement. *Cyprian Ep. 68*. in the case of *Basilius* and *Martialis*, doth shew that the Church had power as of choosing worthy, so of refusing unworthy. He speaketh of an ordinary power, as by choosing is manifest, not extraordinary and in case of necessity. And Mr. Field maintaineth, that

that *Liberius* was lawfully deposed by the Church of Rome. Surely I marvell men of learning will deny it, when no reason evinceth the Pope though a generall Pastor subje& to the censure of a Church Oecumenicall, but the same proveth a Dioecesan Bishop subje& to the censure of the particular Church. Unless they will say with some Schoolmen, *Sed, viz.* That the Pope is but the vicar of Christ in the generall Church: but the Bishop is both the vicar of Christ, and also representeth the generall Church in his Dioecesse, whence he cannot be proceeded against by the Church that is a particular. As if to be a vicar of Christ were a lesser matter then to represent the generall Church, with whom in his calling the Church Oecumenicall hath nothing to doe.

To that which is objected touching Fathers, Pastors; the similitudes hold not in all things. Naturall parents are no wayes children, nor in state of subjection to their children: but spirituall fathers are so fathers, that in some respect they are children to the whole Church. So shepherds are no way sheepe, but ministers are in regard of the whole Church. Secondly, Parents and Shepherds are absolute'y parents and shepherds, be they good or evil: but spirituall Parents and Pastors are no longer so then they doe accordingly behave themselves. Besides, are not civill Kings Parents and Pastors of their people? yet if they be not absolute Monarches, it was never esteemed as absurd, to say that their people had power in some cases to depose them. If their owne Churches have no power over them, it will be hard to shew wherein others

have such power of jurisdiction over persons who belong not to their owne churches. But Lord

Bishops must take state on them, and not subje& themselves unto any triall, but by their Peeres onely, which is by a Councell of Bishops.

*F F N F S.*





THE

8

# CONCLVSION

OF THE EARLE OF  
STRAFFORDS

*H. Wintworth*  
DEFENCE


*The Twelfth of Aprill, 1641.*

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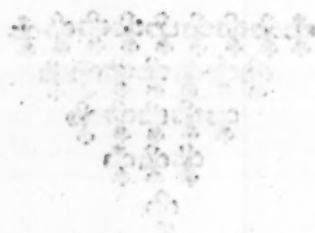
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Printed in the Yeare, 1641.



THE  
CONCLUSION  
OF THE EARLE OF  
STRAFFORDS  
DEFEENCE

The Year 1641.



Printed in the Year 1641.



THE  
EARLE of STRAFFORDS  
SPEECH, which he made in

his owne Defence at the Con-  
clusion of his Tryall, the Twelfth  
of April, 1641.

**M**Y Lords, there yet remains another  
Treason, that I should be guilty of; as  
the endeavouring to subvert the funda-  
mentall Lawes of the Land, that they should now  
be Treason together, that is not Treason, in any  
one part, a Treason accumulative, that so when all  
will not doe, it is wovén up with others, it should  
seeme very strange.

Under favour, my Lords, I doe not conceive  
that there is either *Statute-Law*, nor *Common-  
Law*, that doth declare the endeavouring to sub-  
vert the fundamentall Lawes to be high Treason.

*For neither Statute-Law, nor Common-Law  
written, that ever I could heare of, declareth it so.*

And yet I have bin diligent to enquire, (as I be-  
leeve you thinke it doth concerne me so to doe.)

*It is hard to be questioned for life and honour,  
upon a Law that cannot be shonne.*

There is a rule which I have learned from Sir Edward Cooke, *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio*, (Jesu) where hath this fyre laine all this while, so many hundreds of yeares without any smoake to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me, and my children. Extreame hard it is in my opinion, that punishment should precede promulgation of a Law, punished by a Law subsequent to the Actes done?

Take it into your considerations, for certainly it is now better to be under no law at all but the will of men, then to conforme our selves under the protection of a law, as we thinke and then be punished for a crime that doth precede that law. What man can be safe, if that be once admitted.

My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set upon this offence, by which we should know it, no admonition by which we should be aware of it.

If a man passed downe the Thames in a Boat, and it be split upon an anchor, and no Buoye, being set as a token that there is an anchor there, that party that owes the anchor, by the Maritime Lawes, shall give satisfaction for the dammage done; but if it were marked out, I must come upon my owne perill.

Now where is the marke upon this crime, where is the token that this is high Treason?

If

*If it be under water, and not above water, no humane providence can availe nor prevent my destruction.*

*Lay aside all humane wisdom, and let us rest upon divine Revelation, if you will condemne before you forwarne the danger.*

Oh! my Lords, may your Lordships be pleased to give that regard unto the *Peerage of England*, as never to suffer our selves to be put on those *nice* points, upon such constructive interpretations, and these are, where Lawes are not cleare or knowne, if there must be a Tryall of wits, I doe most humbly beseech you that the subject and matter may be in somewhat else, then the lives and Honours of Peeres.

My Lords, we find that in the primitive times, in the progression of the plaine Doctrine of the Apostles; they brought the Bookes of curious Arts, and burned them. And so likewise, as I doe conceive, it will be wisdom and providence in your Lordships, for your posterity, and the whole Kingdome, to cast from you into the fire these bloudy and most mysterious Volumes of constructive and Arbitrary Treason; and to betake your selves to the plaine Letter of the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the crime is, And by telling what is, and what is not, shewes how to avoid it. And let us not be ambitious, to be more wise and learned in the killing Arts, then our forefathers were.

*It is now full 200. and 40. yeares, since ever any man was touched for this alleaged cryme (to this leight) before my selfe, we have lived happily to our selves at home, and wee have lived gloriously to the world abroad.*

*Let us rest contented with that which our Fathers left us, and not awake those sleepey Lyons to our owne destructions; by raking up a few musty records, that have layen so many ages by the walls, forgotten, and neglected.*

*May your Lordships be Nobly pleased, to adde this to those other misfortunes befallen mee for my sins, not for my Treasons; that a president should now be derived from me of that disadvantage (as this will be in the consequent to the whole Kingdome) I beseech you seriously to consider it, and let not my particular case be so looked on, as you doe; though you wound me in my interest in the Common-wealth, and howsoever those Gentlemen say, that they speake for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and the inconveniences and mischiefs that will heavily fall upon us; for as it is in the 1. of Henry the fourth, no man will after know what to doe, or say, for feare.*

*Do not put (my Lords) so great difficulties upon the Ministers of state, that men of wisdom, honour, and vertue, may not with cheerefulnesse and safety, be employed for the publicke, if you weigh & measure them by grains and scruples, the publik affaires of the Kingdome will be laid waste, & no man will*



*will meddle with them, that hath honours, issues, or any fortunes to lose.*

*My Lords, I have now troubled you, longer then I should have done, were it not for the interest of those deare pledges, a Saint in heaven hath left mee ; I should bee loath my Lords, (there he stopped.)*

*What I forfeit for my selfe it is nothing, but that my indiscretion should forfeit for my child, it even woundeth me deepe to the very soule.*

*You will pardon my infirmity, something I should have said, but I am not able, (and sighed) therefore let it passe.*

*And now my Lords, I have bin by the blessings of Almighty God taught, that the afflictions of this life present, are not to bee compared to the eternall weight of glory that shall be revealed to us hereafter.*

*And so, my Lords, even with tranquillity of mind, I doe submit my selfe freely and cheerefully to your Lordships judgements ; and whether that righteous judgement shall be to life or death.*

*Te Deum Laudamus, te Dominum  
Confitemur.*

**FINIS.**

will surely with it be  
 My Lord, I have now  
 then I should have done  
 of those things which  
 had let me: I then I  
 (there he stopped.)  
 What I forer for my  
 that my indifferency  
 a even enough in  
 You will pardon my  
 should have this, but I  
 therefore let it pass.  
 And now my Lord  
 of Almighty God might  
 this life present, and not  
 eternal weight of glory  
 as hereafter.  
 And so my Lord  
 mind, I do impart my  
 fully to your Lordship  
 that the righteous  
 do.

To Deane Lambton, to the  
 Forfeiture.

FINIS.

9  
IN  
ANSWER  
TO  
THE EARLE OF  
STRAFORDS  
CONCLUSION.

*The 13. of Aprill, 1641.*

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Printed in the year 1641.

A. M. O. W. A.

1872

2019

CONSTITUTION





*with your Lordships favour,*

**I**f the subversion of the fundamentals of Faith be Heresie, why not as well the subversion of the fundamental Laws, Treason? Shall it be Treason to destroy the Kings Minister? and shall that be none that destroyes his protector? For the Law protects the King, as well as the King the Lawes: and if Lawes did not subsidiate Princes, Kingdoms would totter as foundationlesse: nay they are indeed, the very subsistence of Kings.

Let it be supposed, though not granted, that no one particular make it Treason, may not many and successive Acts amount it to that height? One graine of poyson is not mortall, but many together are. Exportation of Sheepe for once is but a Trespasse, but acted a second time is Felony by Statute. Refusall of the Oath of Supremacy is at first not capitall, but refus'd againe, by statute is made Treason. And to my weake understanding, my Lords, this cleerly shewes the mind of the Law: one ill act of waving the Law, may be but out of rashnesse, out of Ignorance; but a perpetuated practice, shewes a prepen-

A . .

sed .



fid malice, and murder thus added by the 10.  
11. 7. in Ireland, is Treason.

Be it there be no statute or Common-Law  
in expresse to make it so, yet necessary in-  
ferences, if they be not certainties, are new  
them; and if the deputed Judge or Gover-  
nour hath power in the businesse of the Sub-  
ject, to make the sway arbitrary, where Law  
is positive, I know not but hee may doe the  
same in the businesse of the soveraigne; so it  
may come to pull the Sovereignty from the  
Prince, and place it on his substitute, and  
whether this be reason or no, I leave to your  
Lordships consideration.

'Tis true, *de non apparentibus, & non existen-*  
*tibus, eadem est Ratio*, But my Lords, to make  
this Treason, is not unapparent: a partiall  
eye will not find it, but he that lookes, *Intus in-*  
*seris*, may see even the Triple Gerion of Trea-  
son in it, for it cannot be but there is *Lex*  
*Respub. Lex Maiestas*, the Common-wealth is  
oppressed, the Lawes are suppressed, the Prince  
is scandal'd in act, and subjected by conse-  
quence to his Venious determinations: and  
therefore I shall without admiration tell you  
where this fire hath layen those hundred of  
yeres he speaketh of, even (my Lords) in the  
honest behaviour of other Ministers of  
State,



State, who have not bene infamous against  
the Lawes, and there shall not be punished  
if his owne notorious actions had not up-  
breed it, and thus it a new.

How can your Sentence be before promul-  
gation, since even your renowned Progeni-  
tors have already declared it Treason, though  
not by a particular Statute in terms: yet by a  
demonstrative practice, which if his Lord-  
ship would not have bene willingly blind,  
had bene busy enough to keepe him from  
that Anchor of us all, which now must either  
hurt it selfe, or else split him, the Parliament  
whose Courses left upon Record cannot be  
taken for under water workes, so that a very  
cattie honesty and common morality (with-  
out Revelation) might have serv'd as the red  
Crosse and the Bill, to have warn'd him from  
this plague of Legicide.

I shall beg as hard as his Lordship, that  
you have regard to your selves, for if upon  
him (by whose authority, Peeres shall be  
sentenc'd to be shot, Noble curb'd & coop'd  
up, Lawes subverted, Freehold disposed of  
out of the Courts, Grants under the Royall  
Seale extrajudicially disann'd and what may  
be profit of, Monopoliz'd) you set not some  
everlasting Character to deter the like front-  
less

lesse attempts; I know not but the next Com-  
mer may subjugate your dearest freedoms,  
and as remediless you may then complaine,  
as those who now doe suffer, and have not yet  
found a redresse.

My Lords under favour, your providence  
may be short, if it reach but to burning of  
Bookes: a fire of dead leaves will be too  
weake a fuell for a warning Beacon: A living  
Author made exemplary will afford a Taller  
flame, and if there were no other Law, that  
of Retaliation could not but be just; an Ar-  
bitrary sentence, were but plowing with his  
owne Heyfer, Who striving to seclude the  
Lawes, would inferre a kind of legall Tyranny,  
from a brest that is a Libertine. And  
therefore your Lordships, I perswade my selfe,  
will thinke it mightily fit, to cast this *onus*  
over board, who has occasioned all these  
stormes, indangered all the sacredship of Go-  
vernment, and by flying the plaine speaking  
Law, has dar'd by his Imperious Vote, to out-  
goe even all the bold attempts of Ancestry.

It is some comfort to us, that in 240 years,  
we have had no use of these venerable, (though  
by him reviled for musty) Records. The  
Common-wealth has had the fewer enemies.  
And if they worke now but a merited opera-  
tion,

tion, I hope it may be 500 yeares ere any of  
so bold a brow, shall desperatly againe adven-  
ture to awaken them.

And if his Lordship be not made a president  
for punishment: I know not but hee may  
prove a President for example, to animate  
others of a Vafrous and presuming braine, to  
take up the same way from a pleasurable bo-  
some, to doome both Nobles, and the Com-  
mons, into a State of deep calamity. And so  
your Lordships lenity to him, may by  
indulgence wound a future multitude. His  
many crimes which you have heard fully pro-  
ved, will immortalize your Peerage for a no-  
ble Justice. The learned Orator has anciently  
told us, that *Non potest cuiquam male de Repub.*  
*merenti, iusta esse causa.* And though it be se-  
vere, it cannot be unrighteous, for *Hoc spe-*  
*stant Leges, Hoc volunt; incolumem esse Civium*  
*Conjunctionem, quam qui dirimunt, eos morte,*  
*exilio, vinculis, damno, coercent.*

Thus every man will know what channell to  
steere in, what roks to avoyd, what he is not  
to doe, what he is not to say for feare of mee-  
ting such paines.

Thus men of honest wisdom, will be cau-  
tious of keeping in the plaine rode of the  
Law, and never hazard (by crossing through  
untro-

untroden Thickets) either Honour, Issue, or fortune, to a losse. What his Maiestie may graciously intend to the pledge of his Sainct, will rest in his most Royall heart: Though I hope the want of a Midwife did not make her one, nor his marriage within a moneth after her decease did ere make him account her so.

And now (my Lords) wee shall humbly expect your Honorable Judgements, beseeching you will be nobly pleased to defend those Lawes which have ever defended you, to have respect to your owne future liberty, and the safety of these flourishing Kingdomes: Then what ever your sentence be,

*Te Deum laudamus te Canticum Iehova, clangamus  
Dominum confitemur, Rupibus, salus is nostra.*

---

**FINIS!**







THE  
REPLICATION  
OF


Master Glyn, *K.*

In the name of all the Commons of  
ENGLAND, to the generall an-  
swer of THOMAS Earle of Straf-  
ford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,  
to the severall Charges exhibited  
against him in Parliament by  
the house of Commons,  
April the 13.  
1641.

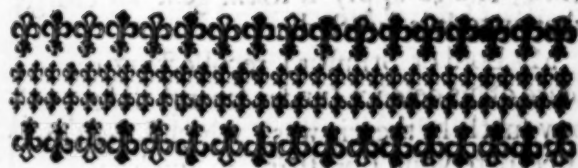


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London Printed, 1641.



1890



The Replication of *M<sup>r</sup> Glyn*, in  
the name of all the *Commons* of England,  
to the generall answer of *Thomas* Earle of Straf-  
ford L. Lieutenant of Ireland, to the severall  
Charges exhibited against him in Par-  
liament, By the House of Com-  
mons, Aprill the 13.  
1641.

*My Lords,*

**B**E E pleased to give me but a little re-  
spite, and I make no doubt but to repre-  
sent to your Lordships *Thomas* Earle of  
Strafford, now prisoner at the Bar, as subtle in  
his answers, as he hath been cunning in his  
practices.

The said Master *Glyn* retiring himselfe for  
the space of halfe an houre, and returning, thus  
began.

*My Lords*, Wee are here entrusted by the  
house of Commons, in the name of all the  
Commons of England to recollect our evi-  
dence,



dence, and to apply it to the generall charge, whereunto it is directed.

My Lord of Strafford recollecting the evidence of his defence (under favour) did expresse how subtle he therein was, which I shall make appeare to your Lordships in fundry particulars.

But my Lords, before I enter upon it, I shall make some observations and answers to that, reducing it againe to that method, though not so exactly (I feare) as I have proposed it to my selfe.

It will easily appeare to your Lordships; That the Earle of Strafford hath exprest whatsoever may seeme to make for him, but concealed the rest.

He hath misrecited, and miswrested proofes, both on his owne side and ours.

He hath *My Lords*, taken this advantage, that it might make for his defence.

He hath disjoynted those testimonies and witnesses that made against him: That they might appeare like small scattered drops of raine, which nevertheless being gathered together, would overflow the body of the earth it selfe.

*My Lords*, I doubt not in the generall, but to make good what I have spoken against him, who hath made a flourish this day (as he hath formerly) that if he had longer time, he is confident he could have cleared himselfe of those  
great

great crimes wherewith he stands charged;

Give mee leave therefore to informe your Lordships; that he is no way scanted by time, whatsoever his flourishing Rhetorick may endeavour to insinuate.

*My Lords,* it may as easily, as plainly appear, that there is nothing wanting to him; for he hath severall Copies of papers of the Councells Table here, and of the Parliament in Ireland, and yet he still pretends, he is not ready; only to protract and gaine time.

*My Lords,* he hath often mentioned, this day, and the day before, that many Articles wherewith he stands charged, are proved but by one witnesse; and therefore he takes advantage of the Statute, 1 *Edw. 6.* That a man ought not to be condemned by one witnesse.

*My Lords,* This is a fallacy of his own heart, for the severall charges against him are not deposed by one witnesse only, but many.

*My Lords,* His charge is for subverting the fundamentall Lawes of the Land, and endeavouring to introduce a tyrannicall government.

If your Lordships put these together, you shall finde clearely, by how weak a thred his answers hang.

*My Lords,* Another comparison I shall be bold to make, is, That he was pleased to cast an aspersion in the entrance of his answer; upon those which were and are entrusted by the house of Commons; by pretending the severall charges

charges were not proved, which indeed are proved sufficiently.

*My Lords*, Wee stand here to justifie and maintaine what we have spoken, and however he is pleased to cast it upon us, we are bold to retort it upon him, but should be loath to be so guilty in this, as he is found in the severall charges.

*My Lords*, He hath been pleased to make a generall plea, that these particulars, though put together in one body, cannot possibly make a Felony, nor 100. Felonies a Treason; instancing in that of a bloody knife in a murderers hand, but I make no doubt he well knowes, that the case of murdering a private man, and of a whole Kingdome differ, and that there may be Treason intended in the latter, though by Gods mercy prevented.

He that intends to kill a King, though it be not perpetrated, is nevertheless guilty of high Treason, yet a King, though murdered, may live in his posterity; but to kill the whole Kingdome; and their posterity, to bring them into perpetuall bondage and slavery, if this be not high Treason, and the highest degree of Treason, I must professe I yet know not what Treason is.

Besides, *my Lords*, (under favour) I shall put you in remembrance, that *Faux*, the greatest and most desperate Traitor that any Age hath brought forth, might have pretended this excuse,



cuse, That the taking in of barrells of gunpowder, and putting them under the parliament house, laying the traine of powder, and kindling the match (to execute the most horrid villany that ever hell teemed) was no treason, because not effected; but if you consider the circumstances, you will finde it capitall treason, and hee might have had as much excuse for his villany, as the Earle of Strafford in this case.

My Lords, *Thomas* Earle of Strafford endeavored and attempted to kill the Lawes, the fundamentall Lawes of this kingdome: and if this be not high treason, it may with very good reason seeme strange. My Lord of Strafford distinguisheth of treasons, *viz. That there are treasons by Statute at Common Law, and treasons arbitrary or constructive.*

*My Lords*, Be pleased to give me leave to trace him a while, and afterwards to discharge my duty, truly to represent the cause, and I will avoid (as much as I can) falling into my Lord of Straffords error.

*My Lords*, he beginneth with the fifteenth article, and pretends the substance of the Charge is, *That he caused a warrant to be executed by Robert Savil Sergeant at armes, and divers others, (who as he conceives, ought not to swear in his own justification) and that he condemned the proceedings of the Councell boord in Ireland.* Now saith hee, this warrant is not produced.

But my Lords, The Judges know and wil tell  
 B you

you, That if a man be charged with felony, although the thing stollen bee not produced, yet nevertheless the man stands charged. I say therefore this is but a new way and invention, found out newly by his Lordship (for ought I can see) to commit high treason, and to say he had a warrant for it.

I beseech your Lordships patience, and I trust to care this assertion; and whereas he pretends the Sergeant at armes to be no competent witness, I wonder much at it.

He is pleased to spend much of his Rhetorick when he saith, *That monies were levied but by two or three soldiers, and no more.* But your Lordships know it is as much mischief to be overmastered by foure, as foure thousand.

Your Lordships may remember, that the warrant doth not particularly expresse the number of men that should raise it in that warlike manner.

I might as well say, The King hath given me an army in Ireland, therefore I will turn it upon the bowels of the Kings people.

I thought, my Lords, hee would have insisted upon the other two articles, but it seemes hee hath been better advised. And for the feares of his transporting the Irish army, my Lords, those feares were warrantable and iust.

The Commons of England also feared, and justly, or else they would never have charged him therewith. And the Lo. feares he mentioned a-  
rise

rise from a true and reall cause, and hee hath shewed himselfe a good subject in this and all other things, and whatsoever my Lord of Strafford is pleased to say against him, his reputation stands untainted.

Whereas he citeth that of Master Treasurer *Vanes* Charge, who affirms he said (speaking at that time of a defensive warre with Scotland) *Your Majesty hath byed all wayes and means, and in this your extreame necessity, for your own and your peoples safety, you may employ the Irish army, so as to reduce this Kingdome to obedience.* My Lords, wee could plainly have proved this testimony by notes taken by Secretary *Vane* (which notes were accordingly taken the beginning of the last June) and by two other witnesses; because hee affirmeth he could have proved the contrary.

*My Lords*, I tell you what testimonies wee could have brought (if there had been need) to prove his intentions to bring in the Irish army.

True it is, the last recited words were spoken by Master Treasurer *Vane* the fifth day of May: whereas he saith, *How can it be true, for the Army was not on foot a moneth after.* Yet, with his Lordships favor, in Aprill before, he had given order for it: so that (my Lords) this objection is taken away out of his owne testimony.

Now, my Lords, before I fall upon the other words which he calls constructive, I shall humbly desire your Lordships to look on your notes how he handled the argument.

*My Lords* (saith he) *I am taxed to say, that Ire-land was a conquered Nation, Ergo I am a Traitor for speaking truth.* If your Lordships please to looke on the articles, you shall finde how hee doth dissect and cut them in severall pieces, to serve his owne turne.

And so I descend to the fourth article, which he saith was proved but by one witnesse: but I doe extremely wonder that he should affirm it, for it was proved by three or foure several Wit-nesses, and the words themselves were proved by foure witnesses, to be exceeding often spoken by him: and if we would have troubled your lordships with more proofes, we could have proved almost as many charges against him, as hee remained dayes in Ireland.

*My Lords*, then he falls back to the second article, where he should have exprest these words, *viz. That the Kings little finger should bee heavier than the loines of the Law.* This, my Lords, was expressely proved by five witnesses, to make good the charge; and therefore with your Lordships patience, you shall find it by plain demonstration fully proved.

*My Lords*, I shall not answer to his pieces, but bring them together, and then their foul-nesse will more fully appeare.

Whereas he mentions, *That of the Kings pre-rogative for raising of monies, and particularly that of the Ship money, by the Judges testimony to be law,* My Lords, for him to bring in that which is al-ready

ready condemned, and proved contrary to Law; For him therefore to counsell a King, that hee is absolved and free from all rules of government, to invade upon posterity, to make denial of property: my Lords it rests in your great judgments, and in all that heare mee, what argument this is of defence; but 'tis no wonder: for more of the like stufte followes.

*My Lords*, Hee stands charged for bringing two armies into the field; and thinks to put it off, by saying he had been in the country.

*My Lords*, I shall make it appeare, that the providing of this warre was the principall and maine designe to bring his ends about. My Lords, in the passage hereof he saith, that Secretary *Vanes* words were, *That himselfe was for a defensive war; but he for an offensive: & that there was no difference in these.* Which may well bee strange to any reasonable man, that there should no difference at all bee set, betwixt defending a mans selfe, and offending others.

*My Lords*, In the 24 Article hee mentions part of the Charge, *That he was an occasion of the dissolution of Parliaments.* Whereto he answers, *it is not proved.* But my Lords it shall appeare to be indeed, as the Witneses have already deposed.

He goes on with these words: *Can any man thinke him the occasion of breaking up Parliaments? when such counsells would have been a hindrance to his true designs.*

*My Lords,* He comes from thence to the seven and twentieth Article, and answereth, *That it seemes very strange to him, That people should imagine, that a man can walke so safely twixt two Armies in time of war, as an Atturney, who in Terme goes from one Bench to another, with a bundle of Papers under his girle.* *My Lords,* he makes it very strange, that he should be charged with treasons for subverting the lawes of this kingdome,

*My Lords,* I answer: Doth not the Law make it treason to kill a Judge on the Bench? For why, hee is the living voice of the Law; And shall not he that kills the King in his people, be equally guilty?

And whereas he alledgeth, *Hee never purposed to introduce a tyrannicall government, or to subvert the fundamentall lawes of this Kingdome;* I answer (my Lords) although, praised be God, hee hath not effected it, yet it is too apparent hee intended it.

*My Lords,* The sole helpe the Subject hath to conserve his liberties, if he be detained against Law, is by prohibition, or *Habeas Corpus*: And yet both of these were by him restrained; and I refer it to your Lordships great judgements, whether this was not, as much as in him lay, to introduce an arbitrary power in the King.

And my Lords, Whereas hee saith as aforesaid, *That the Kings little finger should bee heavier than the lawes of the Law:* (for hee buzzed this in to the Peoples eares, that they should find it so) and



and then to speake those words at such a time, when the body of the Kingdome was to meete, was such a vile matter, and a crime of so exorbitant a nature, that it endangered a generall insurrection against Majestie, and this is proved by five witnessses, and not disproved by any, but Sir *William Penniman*, who saith, he heard them not; yet neverthelesse if five would say such a thing, and other five deny it, the affirmative ought to sway.

*My Lords*, When he was sent into Ireland with commission and authority, it was not long but he pursued his intents, and produced them into act, and had not God blowen upon his devices, he had wrapped us all up in desolation.

And then *my Lords*, that he, when all the lights of Justice were open, should execute such punishment on a Peere of the Realme of Ireland, (as sufficiently appeares) doth plainly demonstrate his mischievous intents.

*My Lords*, That he which is under the Law, should take a power above Law, nay, without and against Law, in putting a man to death.

*My Lords*, I shall not omit somewhat hee thereupon said, *That he hoped to have pardon of your Lordships therefore, if he did any thing amisse therein.*

Moreover, (*my Lords*) hee adjudged my Lord *Corks* estate, a lay fee dependant upon the Church, and deprived him thereof by a paper petition, which was a course usuall with my  
Lord

Lord of Sttassford, to put men out of their inheritance, against all law or equity.

My Lords, He goes further, and saith, *That he would make my Lord Corke, and all Ireland know, That Acts of Councell are equal, and should be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdome, as Acts of Parliament.*

*My Lords,* Here he judged also another, though a Peere, puts him out of his inheritance, and yet cannot finde one president to ground him for his so doing.

The next is the 27. Article, whereto hee makes his defence, when as hee was not yet charged.

And whereas he alleadgeth, *That seeing the Warrant he sent, he presently recalled it, and recalled it willingly, therefore he hopes favour from your Lordships.*

*My Lords,* The Warrant was three whole yeares in execution before it was recalled.

Your Lordships have heard, he is not contented herewith, but spreads it over the face of the whole Kingdome, and arrogates authority to himselfe above the Lawes in his answer to the 10. Article, touching his notorious abusing of the King in his Customes; He pretends *It is rather matter of fraud than otherwise,* (which tends to his Majesties so great disservice); and this plainly appeares, for the King hath lost thereby extreamly.

His Majestie lost 5000. pound *per an.* of the olde Rents.

And

And my Lords, for the Earle of Strafford, he hath gotten 100000 pounds by Tobacco at least, besides his other Monopolies.

My Lords, In pursuance of his intents hee crost the proceedings of the whole court of parliament in Ireland.

The next charge against him is upon the nineteenth Article, *For endeavoring the subversion of the fundamentall Lawes of both kingdomes, and that he should compell conscience, by forcing the Kings subjects there, to take an oath contrary to Law and justice.*

My Lords, this his designe to subvert the Law, and exercise power above the Law, was a designe conceived in his heart long before it was executed; *That the King might doe every thing that power would admit, and that the King, if hee pleased, might reduce this kingdome to obedience; by the army he had in Ireland.*

My Lord Primate testifies, That before the Parliament he said, *That if the Parliament would not apply themselves to his Majesty, the King was acquitted before God and man, and might make use of his prerogative.* My Lord Conway chargeth him with the same adding withall, *That if hee tooke this course, the people would give 12 Subsidies.*

Whereupon a Parliament was called, but soone by his meanes dissolved; and so the Kings necessities unsupplied. Either therefore my Lord of Strafford must be thought a Prophet, or else that he projected and effected the dissolution

C

tion

tion of the Parliament.

The next Article is, That he told and counselled his Majesty, *That the City was undutifull and unthankfull, and that no good would be done with them till they were made an example, and layd by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hanged up.*

My Lords, That he gave this counsel, plainly appeares, for thereupon foure Aldermen were instantly committed. So that it is evident, the Earle of Strafford had premeditated this designe.

Now my Lords put all these together, whether the occasion of the warre, and dissolving of the Parliament, were not the end of his devices and counsels, to bring this kingdom to an arbitrary and tyrannicall government.

So, my Lords, if words & intentions, if counsels and actions, of such dangerous consequence to whole kingdomes, be a sufficient evidence of a designe to subvert the Lawes, I hope I have satisfied your Lordships therein. And so, my Lords, I have done with the proofes on the Commons side.

My Lords, I mentioned the seventeenth Article before, which spake of making a Warrant to levy the Kings money by force: This, my Lords, was acted at the command of the Deputie, as it is confessed by Sir *William Pennyman*.

My Lords, It is plaine my Lord of Strafford commanded it: for Sir *William* saith that the Warrant was made at the pursuance of the direction

rection of my Lord of Strafford.

Put all these together, and I doubt not but he will bee found, and it will plainly appeare he is the occasion of all the evils that have fallen upon the Nation, wherewith hee is charged in this article.

I come now, my Lords, to the last passage my Lord of Strafford hath exprest, which I will observe.

For the first, my Lords, please you to take notice how he begs your pittie and compassion. My Lords, If he had exercised compassion towards others, hee might perhaps have expected some extenuation, some mitigation of his offences. But when he hath bene the Incendiary to so many mischiefes, and calamities which have befallen and infested his Majesties Subjects both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, how can he hope or expect but that the reward of his hands be given him.

*My Lords*, Your Lordships have heard him often say, it is very strange he should be questioned for words, being no matter of fact, and therefore to sweep away him, and his posterity from among the living, for things (as he saith) of no consequence, of no solidity at all, is very hard.

*My Lords*, I answer, what respect, what pittie, or Christian compassion did he ever demonstrate, when he was in his Kingdome, in Ireland, when he caused those that refused to pay, to bee

committed ; when hee compelled the great Councell of the Kingdome to stoope to his devices, when he trampled on the Peeres ; and oppressed the Kings subjects, with what great indignity did he use them, how did he insult upon people of all ranks ?

*My Lords,* He is charged with offences of the highest nature : And whereas he alleadgeth by way of excuse, that if these things bee made crimes, the affaires of the Kingdome will be left so waste and desolate ; that no man of wisdom will meddle with them.

Please my Lord of Strafford therefore take notice, That the Kings Ministers ought to serve his Majesty according to Law, and no other-wise.

Can he then my Lords, pin these misdemeanours (as he calls them) upon his Majesty, which no prudent Statesman ever did.

What is it but Treason, to make the cause of the groanes and sighes of his Majesties subjects to proceed from his sacred Majesty ?

This is a course no wise Minister ever practised, thus to question his great Master, and as much as in him lies, to make the subject weary of serving, and the King of protecting.

What is this, but to make his Majestie thinke, That his Royall prerogative is neither comprehended within the limits of Law, nor the bounds of Reason ; For if he had not an intention to subvert the Lawes, why should hee suggest



suggest these things into the Kings eares? what is this my Lords, but as much as in him lies, to confound all Law?

What is this, but to make his Majesty think, that the protection and defence of his people, is the way to his ruin & destruction. To make the people begin to loath the Crowne, and the King hate his people; and should I often repeat it, sure I am there is so much candor in the Kings heart, that it will justifie what I have said.

*My Lords*, There is no greater safety to Prince or People, than to have the Throne established by good Counsellors, and no greater danger can befall a Kingdome, than to have such who are wicked and dangerous.

He alleadgeth for himselfe the great hazzard every Counsellor will run, if they shall be questioned for giving their Counsells freely, according to their oathes, who then, saith he, will be a Counsellor?

*My Lords*, For many yeares you know it, and I cannot without griefe of heart once mention it; there hath been an evill spirit of contention that hath moved and stirred amongst us, which hath been the author and fomentor of all our distractions, viz. Necessity and Danger. These evill Counsells have brought the King into necessity, and necessity hath ever had danger its attendant.

The foundations hereof are laid upon that of Shipmoney, and dissolution of Parliaments, by

perswading the King not to sticke to any rules of government, but to governe without rule or Law.

But I pray my Lords, consider what ill courses my Lord of Straffords Councells have produced, and how pestilent to both Kingdomes.

Your Lordships may remember how he hath scandalized some Peeres of your Realme of Ireland, when he openly exprest, at the Parliament there, That things were carried against him by faction and correspondence, and what threats he then used to terrifie them.

To conclude all my Lords, The Earle of Strafford is here arraigned of high Treason, for going about to subvert the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome.

*My Lords,* You are sons of the same Ancestors, that enacted, maintained, and preserved these Lawes which he would have ruined, and the same blood runs in your Veines.

You cannot my Lords, thinke him worthy to live, who hath attempted these things against all Law : What Law hath he not broken ?

He hath attempted the ruine of three Kingdomes at one blow, it was by him projected : but blessed be our good God, here it stopt, it was never effected.

Therefore my Loeds, if you would be safe, or live in peace, and still enjoy those Lawes, for the maintenance whereof, your Fathers shed their  
their

their dearest blood; then cast this *Jonas* (who yet lies asleep on the bed of security) into the Sea, lest the Ship of the Common-wealth split and sinke.

*My Lords*, It is a cause concernes the King, and here is the remonstrance of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who all humbly beg it.

*My Lords*, What the danger and horror of it would have produced, had these mischiefs been brought to birth, I leave to your great judgements seriously to consider.

And thus my Lords, have I delivered the charge given me by the House of Commons, as briefly and plainly as I could, and therefore doe here with all humility conclude, and submit.

**F I N I S.**